

Roman Conversations ; K
O R,
HISTORICAL EXERCISES:
Being some of the
PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS
IN THE
ROMAN HISTORY,

(The Subjects of six Weeks Conversation at or near Rome)

Compiled for the Use of Places of EDUCATION,
particularly WESTMINSTER-SCHOOL.

VOL. I.

By Jos. Wilcocks Esqr. Hurley
near Maidenhead

L O N D O N :

Sold by W. SANDEY, at the *Ship*, opposite St. *Dunstan's*
Church, *Fleet-Street* ; and B. BARKER, at the *College*
Arms, near the King's School, *Westminster*.

M.DCC.LXIII.



Salve, Inclyta Roma!

Felix prole virum!

Hic manus ob patriam pugnando vulnera passi,
Quique sacerdotes sancti, dum vita manebat,
Quique pii vates, & Phœbo digna locuti,
Inventas aut qui vitam excoluere per artes,
Quique sui memores alios fecere merendo.

ADVERTISEMENT
TO THE
READER.

AS, among the several Roman characters contained in these volumes, there is constantly interwoven some description of some of the Roman antiquities; it may not be improper here to premise to the reader's consideration the few following observations on that last subject,

The real present state of those ruins of antiquity, which are here mentioned, may be found fully described in many books of travels, and accurately delineated in many collections of drawings and prints.

*But as to their antient and original form, the purpose and use for which they were first erected, who were their true builders, and at
a what*

Advertisement to the Reader.

what time ; all these questions are very often answered with very great uncertainty. The numerous authors, who treat on these subjects, very frequently contradict each other ; and yet generally each concludes his dissertation with some confession of the doubtfulness of his own opinion, and of the incertitude of his own system and hypothesis of antiquities.

Of the very great uncertainty of this antiquarian science at Rome, two instances will perhaps be abundantly sufficient.

1. *Even the great triumphal column of Marcus Aurelius has been generally mistaken for that of Antoninus Pius ; nor was this mistake thoroughly cleared, till the real column of Antoninus was lately found buried among the ruins of Monte Citorio.*

2. *Even the situation of the great temple of Jupiter Capitolinus is to this day disputed by the Roman antiquarians ; some arguing, that it stood on the eastern ; others, that it stood on the western summit of the Capitoline hill.*

From

Advertisement to the Reader.

From these two instances the reader may judge of most of the rest.

To this general observation however some exceptions must be made. For this incertitude cannot be supposed to extend to any of those ruins of antiquity, on which there is to this day (or has been till very lately) remaining some antique inscription. Of these there can hardly be any doubt. Such are the column of Trajan, the forum of Nerva, several of the triumphal arches, several of the porticos to the temples, several of the Mausolæa on the different antient roads, &c. &c.

Nor does this incertitude extend to several of the antiquities of the first magnitude or fame; on which, though no original inscription is to be found, yet all writers have been forced to be unanimous. Such (if we are not mistaken) is the great amphitheatre and circus, the theatre of Marcellus, the mole of Adrian, the mausoleum of Augustus, several of the Thermæ, &c.

But as to most of the rest of the antiquities of Rome, the compilers must here once for all acknowledge their great doubt and uncertainty. It

Advertisement to the Reader.

is better perhaps to acknowledge this, thus in general, and in the first pages of this volume, rather than to be continually perplexing the young student with the confused disputes of antiquarians on the several scenes of antiquity which are described in the progress of this work.

All disputes of that kind are avoided in the following papers: yet it is hoped nothing is there asserted, but what may be found either to be favoured by some received local tradition, or by the opinion of some learned man; or to be founded on some degree of probability, or at least of mere possibility. — The compilers ought to be sensible of their own incapacity of judgment, and not presume to pretend to any thing further. They must however again intreat the reader to remember, that these volumes were never intended as any thing like an accurate work either of Roman biography, or of Roman antiquity. They were compiled only (for the use of children) as some kind of introduction to the study of those authors, who have wrote on those subjects in an infinitely more ingenious, ample, compleat, and exact manner. Yet even in the study of those authors, what will the young reader find? He will find indeed much

Advertisement to the Reader.

instruction, and much pleasure: yet (especially if he compares different authors) his researches will frequently conclude in great uncertainty. Nor can this be otherwise: it being a necessary consequence of the nature itself of all human works. For let the reader consider that no less than thirteen centuries are elapsed since Rome fell under the Gothic force: let him also further consider, that, if the accounts of the Roman antiquities are full of such incertitudes and obscurity, how great must be the darkness and confusion in the history of the other many ruins of still much more antient magnificence in many parts of Greece, Egypt, Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, and India: the whole earth indeed is full of most striking proofs of the truth of that solemn and instructive verse,

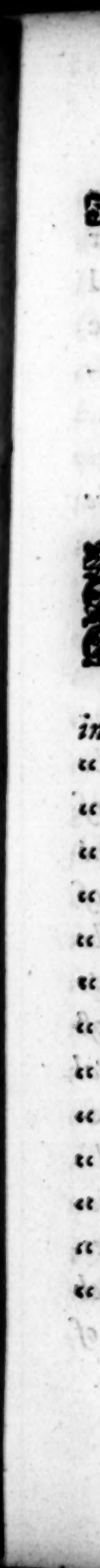
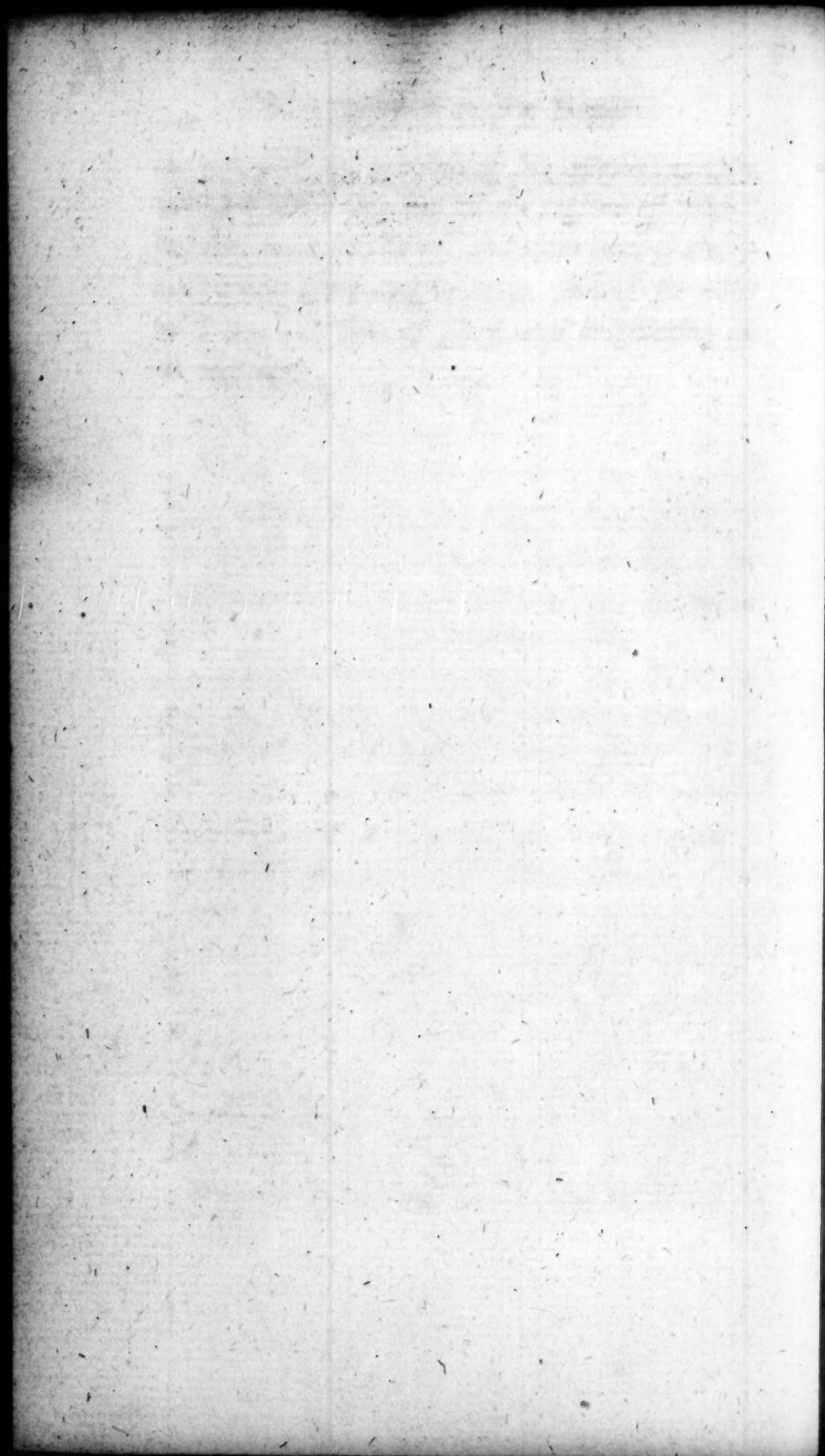
Man dieth; and all his works follow him.

But the young reader will be taught to observe, that the instruction contained in this verse is of a double kind. For as all the terrestrial labours of man, however great or beautiful, will thus indubitably follow his body into dust and ashes, and there gradually sink into utter and eternal oblivion; so, on the other hand, it is equally certain,

Advertisement to the Reader.

certain, that the rewards of his celestial virtues
will also follow his soul to the regions of incor-
ruption and immortality, and there even probably
continually grow and increase, shining for ever
with new accessions of glory, and brightening to
all eternity.

6 AU 63



THE PREFACE.

IN the Year 1759 a Book was published,
intituled, SACRED EXERCISES, com-
piled for the Use of Places of Edu-
cation, particularly *Westminster School*;
in the Preface to which is the following Passage.
“ It may not be improper to add, that this
“ Collection makes a Part only of a larger
“ Plan of Moral Institution ; and that, al-
“ though the Gospel Morality may be esteemed
“ abundantly sufficient to lead our Minds to
“ Religious Perfection ; yet there are Occa-
“ sions and Seasons, when other Systems may
“ be made subservient to it, in advancing the
“ same great End. With this View two other
“ Works are preparing for the Press. The
“ one is a Course of Ethical Institution, exem-
“ plified in the Life of *Socrates* from the
“ *Greek* Moralists ; particularly *Xenophon* and
“ *Plato*.

“ *Plato.* This is in *Greek*; and intended for
 “ Lessons in the Upper Forms. The other
 “ is in *English*; and is meant to give a Moral
 “ History of the World, in setting forth the
 “ great and beneficent Actions of the illu-
 “ strious Men of all Ages and Nations.”

*The Greek Work is since published, with the
 Title of Εἰς τῶν περὶ Σωκράτους, five de SOCRATE;*
 in Usum Scholæ Regiæ Westmonasterienfis,
 1760.

*The other Work was designed on the following
 Plan: That is, to consist of four Parts; the
 first including the most respectable Characters of
 the Egyptian, Persian, and other most antient
 Histories; the second, those of Greece, and of
 its Colonies; the third, those of Rome. The
 fourth Part was intended to be subdivided into
 four Sections: 1. Containing some of the most
 exalted Characters in several of the principal
 idolatrous Nations, such as India, China, Pe-
 ru, &c. 2. Those of the Mahometan World:
 3. and 4. The great Characters of Europe, be-
 fore and since the Revival of Arts and Sciences.
 Some considerable Progress has been made in each
 of*

The PREFACE.

iv

of the four Parts of this Work; but the whole Plan being of so great an Extent, the Compilers know not what Time will be necessary for its Completion, nor indeed whether they shall be ever able to complete it; on this account therefore perhaps it may not be thought improper, if the several Parts of it are published, as they are finished, without waiting for the Completion of the Whole.

As for the following Papers, (which answer to the third Part of this extensive Work) the Compilers beg Pardon for the many Errors and the many Omissions in them; and should be very glad to be assisted in the Correction of these for a subsequent Edition. In the mean Time they humbly hope, that the Intention of the Work will plead in their Excuse for their Presumption in attempting it. Happy are they, that their Names are not at present, nor ever will be, published with it; as by this Means they are enabled boldly to do their Duty in this Work, by speaking with Earnestness and Warmth on those, whether common, or whether more exalted Doctrines, of which (if their Names had not been concealed) they would most justly have been thought most unworthy

worthy ever to pretend or to presume to be the Teachers. They also humbly hope, (as some further Excuse for the very imperfect Manner, in which several of the Characters in the following Papers are drawn up) that it will be considered; that the Intention of such a Volume as this, is not to pretend to give the Public a Set of the great Characters of Rome completely delineated; (Subjects worthy of a far more noble Pen!) but only to represent some few of the principal Parts of each Character to the Young Readers, in such a Manner, and in such a Light, as may perhaps serve to excite them to a further Study, not only of the Roman Antiquities in general, but in particular of those Historical and Biographical Authors, from whose Works the Materials of the following Papers are indeed very imperfectly extracted, and perhaps very injudiciously compiled.

These two small Volumes are divided into six Books; which in some Measure answer to six remarkable Periods of the Roman History. The first Book contains some few of the great Characters which appeared in the early Ages of Rome, down to the Times of the first Punic War. The second is continued to the Times of
the

the Gracchi, or of the first bloody Civil Dissensions. The third is relative to the dismal Times of the Civil Wars, and ends with the Republic. The fourth begins and ends with the Government of the Cæsarean Family. The principal Subjects of the fifth are the Virtues of the far more noble Family of the Antonines. The sixth relates to the Decline, and concludes with the Fall of Rome itself.

These six Books contain together two and forty Chapters: A Circumstance, which perhaps may be of some small Convenience in those Places of Education, the Preceptors of which may condescend to favour this Work; that being the very Number of Weeks in the Year, during which the Schools are generally attended, exclusive of the ten Weeks of Holidays at Christmas, Whitsuntide, &c. It is therefore humbly submitted to the proper Judges, whether or no, some small Part of some one Day in each Week might not be employed, either in reading, translating, or making some Theme or Declamation (as may by them be judged most proper) on some small Part or Extraēt of one of these two and forty Chapters; so as to go through these small Volumes regularly
once

once within the Space of the Year, without giving any considerable Interruption to the other, and perhaps much better, Employments of the young Scholars.

It is also, for the Sake of the same Young Readers, here declared, that the Profits of the Sale of this Book (if any) will be totally applied to the Benefit of the Infirmary or Hospital at Westminster.

INTRODUCTION.



INTRODUCTION.

T was in the Spring of one of the Years, which have elapsed since the Beginning of this Century, that three young *Englishmen* met together at *Rome*; and with them a Clergyman of the Church of *England*, who had attended one of these young Gentlemen at School, at the University, and on his Travels; as his Tutor indeed, but always behaving to him with the mingled Affection of a Parent and Companion. They had now passed in the most friendly and agreeable Manner upwards of three Months, in surveying together the Antiquities, Paintings, Sculptures, &c. of that wonderful City; when, after taking an Afternoon's Walk in the Gardens of the *Corfini* Palace (situated on the *Janiculan* Mount, near the Place where once was the *Villa Martialis**)

VOL. I.

B

they

* *Hic septem dominos videre montes,
Et totam licet æssimare Romam:
Albanos quoque, Tusculosque colles, &c.*

ii INTRODUCTION.

they sat down on the Side of that woody Hill within the Sound of the great Cascade of *Monte Aureo*; and with great Pleasure surveyed from thence the Magnificence of *Rome*, which filled all the Valley below them, appearing then to the greatest Advantage by the Reflection of the setting Sun on the shining Domes of so many Churches, and on the darker Arches of such noble Ruins, intermingled with Groves of Cypress.

MIGHT it not be wished, said one of the young Gentlemen, that the great Road to *Rome* had been down the Side of this Hill, that Foreigners (who come hither from all Regions) might, even before their entering the Gates, have such a Prospect of the Splendor of this City? How little would they then regret the Fatigue of their long Journey, even if they came from as distant Regions as two Cavaliers, whom I met last Night at a Conversation, one the Son of a *Muscovite* Nobleman, the other a *Spaniard* from the Colony of *Chili*?

It seems, replied another of the Company, to be a peculiar Fatality attending this City, that

INTRODUCTION. iii

that it should always have the Power of drawing to it Foreigners from the most distant Parts of the World. I remember, with great Pleasure, that Epigram of *Martial*, which we learnt together at *Westminster*; and which was wrote in Honour of *Titus's* Amphitheatre, the majestic Ruins of which we now see from hence still towering above the highest Cypresses on the *Palatine Hill*.

*Quæ tam seposita est, quæ gens tam barbara, Cæsar,
Ex quâ spectator non sit in urbe tua?
Venit ab Orpheo cultor Rhodopeius Hæmo:
Venit & epoto Sarmata pastus equo:
Et qui prima bibit deprensi flumina Nili,
Et quem supremæ Tethyos unda ferit.
Festinauit Arabs: festinavere Sabæi;
Et Cilices nimbis hic maduere suis.
Crinibus in nodum tortis venere Sicambri;
Atque aliter tortis crinibus Æthiopes.
Vox diversa sonat: populorum est vox tamen una,
Cum verus patriæ diceris esse pater.*

Even now, though all the Dominion and so great Part of the Glory of *Rome* is lost, yet its attractive Influence seems to be rather extended than contracted. The modern *Romans* have Reason, surely, for their common Proverb,

iv INTRODUCTION.

That the Walls of their City are built of Loadstone. What earnest Impatience did we all feel in our last Day's Journey, when arrived at the Field of *Cincinnatus* *, within a few Miles of *Rome*? And with what Pain shall we all, I am afraid, take Leave of this happy Place? You particularly, my dear Friends, who are each of you so much better qualified than myself for entering into the great and noble Pleasures of this City. Though ignorant myself, yet I rejoyce in the Taste of Music of one, in the Study of Architecture of another of this Company. Above all, how do I love to hear the Conversation of those, who are capable of understanding and explaining the great Merits and Perfections of those Wonders in modern Painting and antient Sculpture, in which almost every great Edifice in *Rome* is said to be still (notwithstanding the vast Numbers exported) far richer than many of the principal Cities of the World? But among all the Sciences which afford such a Satisfaction to a Traveller, when arrived on these Banks of the *Tiber*, there is none (as I have heard my Tutor *Crito* observe) equal to that of History. This, to my Comfort, immediately

* *Torre di Cincinnato*, between two and three Miles distant from *Rome*.

INTRODUCTION.

ly affects us all ; for we all have, from our earliest Childhood, been continually hearing or reading something of *Rome* : And now, what various Scenes of its History open here to our Memory? And that, not only in visiting the various *principal* Antiquities, for almost *every* object, *every* Spot around us, is historical, and poetical too, in the highest Degree.

I SHOULD be very insensible of my Happiness, said *Crito*, (by which Name, the Clergyman who attended these Youths, will be distinguished in these Papers) and very ungrateful too, if I did not take all Opportunities to own, both here and in my Letters to *England*, the very great Pleasure which I have received in visiting this City, with three such agreeable Companions. The Vivacity of your more youthful Imaginations, and fresher Memory of the Historians and Poets of antient *Rome*, have greatly enlivened, and not a little illustrated every Object, which I have here seen. This Pleasure, and this Instruction, have been continually every Day encreasing even from that first Morning, on which you began your Course of Antiquities, by making the Circuit of the *Palatine Valley*, in Company with the hospitable

vi INTRODUCTION.

Evander and pious *Æneas* : (viz. *Æn.* 8. 306.) Sure am I, that I shall always think of that Day, and of that Walk, with Pleasure. How often shall I in particular recollect the Satisfaction we then felt on entering the first *Roman* Ruin, which we visited? I mean, that antient Temple of *Romulus*, situated at the Foot of Mount *Palatine*, and on the very Spot where the She-wolf gave her Milk to the two deserted Infants, where even the wildest of Beasts shewed such Pity. What Happiness and Glory would it have been for *Rome*, if she too had sweetened her savage Temper; and always, even in the Height of her Grandeur, imitated that Benevolence and Compassion, to which she owed the Preservation of her Founders?

How much sweeter is the national benevolent Character of *England*?

It is true, indeed, that in almost all the Ages of the long History of *Rome*, in all the Times both of its Adversities and Prosperities, some exalted Characters may be found, some great Examples of Benevolence, Generosity, and of other Virtues, as well as of Fortitude. Give me leave,
Gentle-

INTRODUCTION. vii

Gentlemen, to make a Proposal to you. You intend still to stay five or six Weeks longer at *Rome*, which Time you intend to employ in taking a second View of the several Scenes of this great Theatre of Antiquities: Shall I take the Liberty to propose to you, to consider and examine these in the Light in which my good young Pupil has considered most of the principal Places through which he has passed in his Way from *England* hither? Wherever he has for any Time resided, he has constantly taken that Opportunity, not only of refreshing his Memory in the principal Events of the public History of that City, or State, but also of reading, on the Spot, the best Memoirs which he could find of the Lives and Characters of the greatest and best Men, that ever adorned that Country. While at *Genoa*, he thus kept Company with that great Patriot *Andrew Doria*; while at *Florence*, with *Lorenzo* the Magnificent, and *Cosmo de Medicis*, those Fathers of all Arts and Sciences, those Fathers of the Poor, those Fathers of their Country, and Patrons of Peace*. My dear Pupil's studious Hours being thus employed,

B 4 you

* Some short Account of the Characters of these two illustrious *Florentines* is inserted in the Appendix to this Volume.

viii INTRODUCTION.

you will easily conceive what Pleasure and Advantage it must be to him, when in Company with the Natives he found the Conversation turn on these very Characters, and, when in surveying the Curiosities of the Places, he not only thought himself continually treading in their Steps, but frequently met with Monuments and Memorials of their exalted Merit. As soon as we had crossed the *British* Channel, (the smooth Seas, and serene Sky, the bright Sun, and most prosperous Gales of which Voyage, were surely no improper Emblems, or false Omens, of the Happiness with which every Part of our ensuing Travels has been so remarkably blessed) he immediately visited, with the greatest Pleasure, those Places, which are so celebrated in the Histories of the first Prince of *Orange*, of *Jean de Witt*, and *Barneveldt*, and of all the other Heroes and Patriots of the Seventeen Provinces; among these giving his peculiar Attention to the Physic Garden at *Leyden*, the late Seat of Study of the humane and religious *Boerhaave*; and to the Carpenter's Yard near *Amsterdam*, the most glorious Habitation of *Peter* the Great. With similar Raptures he viewed in *France* the Tombs of *Colbert* and of *Catinat*; the Sepulchres

INTRODUCTION. ix

pulchres of President *Molé*, and of *Guesclin*, joined to that of his worthy Master, *Charles the Wise*; the Field in *Lombardy*, where *Bayard*; the Field near *Straßburg*, where *Turenne* fell. With similar Reverence did I also (though I hope always duly sensible and mindful of the great true Merit of many ecclesiastical *British* Characters) then visit, with my Pupil, the Churches where *Suger* and *Fenelon* so often prayed for their Country, I mean those of *St. Dennis* and *Cambray*; the Church of *Melancthon*, that best tempered Reformer at *Wittenberg*; the Hospital of *Paris*, where the Bishop of *Bellay* died; the Tomb of *Erasmus* at *Basil*, and his Statue at *Rotterdam*; the studious Cell of *Fra. Paolo* at *Venice*; the domestic Chapel and Pesthouse of the excellent *Borromeo* at *Milan*; and the Sepulchre of his Imitator the good Bishop at *Marseilles*, the Inscription on which last is already kissed away by the grateful People. If this my dear Pupil and Friend, my dear Fellow-Student and Fellow-Traveller, was not present, I would add, that he has thus made almost every Stage of his Travels a Part of one continued Course of the Study of Goodness as well as Wisdom: He must give me leave to add, (though he blushes

x INTRODUCTION.

blushes so much) that I hope this Study, thus deeply imprinted on *both* our Minds, will become indelible, and make us return at last to our Country *both* better Men.

As to the *Roman* History, it is certain, there is no Place in the World where it can be studied with such Pleasure, Spirit, and Advantage, as here. Such a Study, in this Place, (if it was only a Refreshment of the Memory, as to the principal Events) would make every Day which Foreigners pass here, still much more agreeable to them. But however this may be, surely we must not leave *Rome* without having considered a little, while on the Spot, those Characters which, in our distant Countries, we have been taught from our Infancy so much to admire; or without having respectfully visited whatever here can be looked upon as any Kind of Monument of their Memories*. In visiting

* Naturâne nobis datum dicam an errore quodam, ut cum ea loca videamus, in quibus memoria dignos viros acceperimus multum esse versatos, magis moveamur, quam si quando eorum ipsorum aut facta audiamus, aut scriptum aliquod legamus? Velut ego nunc moveor. Venit enim mihi Platonis in mentem, quem acceperimus primum hic disputare solitum: cujus etiam illi hortuli propinqui non memoriam solum mihi afferunt, sed ipsum videntur in conspectu meo hic ponere. Hic Speusippus; hic Xenocrates; hic ejus auditor Polemo, cujus ipsa illa sessio fuit, quam videmus. Equidem etiam Curiam nostram (hostiliam dico, non hanc novam quæ mihi minor videtur, postquam

INTRODUCTION. xi

sitting these, we shall necessarily review all the other Antiquities ; (they lie so mixed together.) But by making these the principal Objects of our Attention, we shall certainly be much more nobly employed, than if we studied only to gratify our Curiosity in general ; our Minds will daily grow great by conversing with these great Ideas ; and you, Sir, will be assisted (this he said, and with a kind Smile took hold of the Hand of one of the other young Gentlemen) in carrying home with you, not only a very fine Collection of Antiques on Cornelian, but (what will be of much more Consequence to your Country, and much more, I am sure, desired by yourself) a Set of the best *Roman* Virtues, deeply engraven on your Heart.

As what I have taken the Liberty to propose, seems to be not disagreeable to the Company, I will own that I have already drawn up some Papers on those Characters which appeared to me some of the greatest and best of the *Roman* History, and I should be very glad of each of your Opinions on them. If there is no Objection, shall we begin this

Tour

postquam est major) solebam intuens, Scipionem, Catonem, Lælium, nostrum vero imprimis avum cogitare. Tanta vis est admonitionis in locis, ut non sine causa ex his memoriz deducta sit disciplina. *Cicero de Finibus, lib. v. sub initio.*

xii INTRODUCTION.

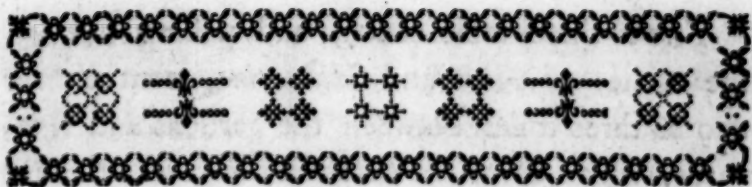
Tour to-morrow Morning? Shall we begin it with visiting the Abode and favourite Seat of Meditation of that great and good Man, near whose Sepulchre we are now conversing? *Fiat bono omine!* I mean *Numa*, that *true Father* and *Founder* of this City.

Romulus, indeed, was the first who rebuilt the Town of *Evander* on that little Hill on our Right: But it was *Numa*, that peaceful Legislator, who wisely and benevolently formed the Laws, Religion, and Manners of this People; and was the real Founder of all the best, the most useful, and noble Virtues of the *Roman* Nation*.

HISTORICAL

* Twice in every Year there is held in these Gardens of the *Corfini* Palace an Assembly of the most learned and principal Persons in *Rome*, as well as the foreign Ambassadors then resident. Before this Company are publicly recited (in the Manner of the antient Recitations of Poets in the Times of the Old Empire) several Compositions in Verse and Prose, particularly in the former. This Assembly is called by the Name of *Quirini*: the Subject of the Orations and Poems being chiefly Panegyrics on some of the exalted Characters of the antient *Roman* History. *Numa*, on whose Sepulchre they almost stand, being remembered there with particular Honour.

There is another Assembly of the same Kind, called that of the *Arcades*, which met originally in the Gardens on the *Palatine* Hill, but now is removed to some other Gardens on the *Janiculan*.



HISTORICAL EXERCISES:

Being some of the

PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS

IN THE

ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK I.

CHAPTER I.

FIRST DAY'S CONVERSATION.

*It Ver, & Venus; & veris prænuncius ante
Pinnatus graditur Zephyrus vestigia propter :
Flora quibus mater præspersgens ante viai
Cuncta coloribus egregiis, & odoribus opp'et.*



UCH was the beauty and sweetness of the spring, such the serenity of the morning of the first of *May*, when this company of friends met in the *Via Sacra*, at the temple of *Peace*.

THEY

THEY there took coach, and passing through the arches of *Titus* and *Constantine*, went on for two or three miles between the gardens and vineyards, which cover the deserted *Celian* on the left hand, and mount *Palatine*, the *Circus Maximus*, and *Aventine* hill, on the right. Having at length passed the old gates and walls of *Rome*, they proceeded on the silent and solitary *Appian* Way, as far as the sepulchre of *Scipio*. They then turned down a narrow lane on the left, which soon brought them to some retired meadows, through which a little brook, formerly the celebrated stream of *Almon*, winded its course.

How happy, said one of the company, would some of our young *English* poetical friends be, if they had so near a prospect of the walls of *Rome*, as we have at present? But how would their heart and genius be warmed, when told, as we were some weeks past, that on this very field stood the camp of *Coriolanus*, and that the antient small temple before us in the middle of this meadow (the temple of *Fortuna Muliebris*) was the very spot, where the mild and meek virtues of the *Roman* matrons delivered their country from that imminent destruction, which neither the policy of the Senate, nor the power of the *Roman* army could avert. With what care ought that building to be preserved from the further injuries of time? It is still,

still, indeed, as to its roofs and walls, entire, but quite neglected. Surely it would be for the honour of the modern *Roman* matrons, if, by a small subscription, they would repair and ornament a building, which is so noble a monument of their antient merit.

THE custom of the antient *Romans*, replied another of the company, in erecting a temple on the spot where they obtained such a deliverance, seems to be a great mark of their wisdom, as well as of their piety and gratitude. I should be glad of *Crito's* opinion, whether it might not be wished that some custom of the same kind was observed in other countries. I own I never passed by the side of *Running-Mede*, near *Windsor*, without wishing, that that meadow was ornamented by some such monument.

THE conversation was here interrupted by the sound of some rural music. The coach stopt at the entrance of a small valley, and the company, on getting out, found themselves in a circle of rustics in their holiday-clothes, crowned with garlands of flowers, and in the height of gaiety and dancing. On enquiring the reason of so much festivity in so solitary a place, no further information could be obtained than that it was an antient immemorial custom, of the origin and reason of which they were all ignorant. But *Crito*
reason

4 HISTORICAL EXERCISES.

reminded the company of what the Antiquarian had said on their first visit to this valley; That this valley being the *Egerian* valley of *Numa*, the antient *Romans* had, in honour of his memory, appointed an annual festival to be kept on this very spot, on the calends of *May*; which ceremony was still (constantly every year) observed*, though more than four and twenty centuries had elapsed since the blessed reign of that father of his people.

THIS accident did not a little contribute to encrease the chearfulness of the company. After having, for some time, looked with good-natured pleasure on the dance and joy of these peasants, they walked on through the verdant (though very wild and desolate) valley which lay before them, and which leads to the grotto of *Numa*. On the right is a small rising ground covered with vines, on which is still remaining, almost entire, the antient temple generally supposed to be that which was dedicated, on this spot, to *Silence* and the *Muses*†. At the foot of this hillock is the grotto, which also is in great measure still entire. In a niche in the wall fronting the entrance, there are still the remains

* This meeting of the peasants in the *Egerian* valley is not always now observed exactly on the first day of *May*; but generally on the first holiday in that month, which releases them from their country labours.

† It is at present used as a chapel, and dedicated to one of the Christian saints.

HISTORICAL EXERCISES.

§

mains of an antique statue, though much disfigured. On each side of the grotto, which is square, are three empty niches: the floor is covered with water; a most plentiful spring of the clearest, softest and sweetest water, called by the peasants *La Fontana Bella*, rising in one corner of the grot, and murmuring over the pavement among the many fragments fallen from the roof, and several reversed capitals of marble columns.

*Egeria est, quæ præbet aquas, Dea Grata Camænis;
Illa Numæ conjux, consiliumque fuit.* Ovid.

REPEATING these lines, one of the young gentlemen stooped down and took a large draught of this *Roman Helicon*: another wished for some milk and wine to make libations: the third gathered an handful of violets from the banks at the entrance of the cave, and scattered them on the water; rapture glistening in his eyes. *Crito* looked on the last of these (his pupil) with great earnestness; tears of joy were swelling in his eyes too, when the company reminded him of the papers which he mentioned yesterday. He immediately sat down under the shade of an aged olive-tree, and began to read as follows; making no further preface, than that if any thing in the following paper seemed to be too highly and warmly expressed, they must be desired to attribute it not to him, but to the author

VOL. I.

C

from

from whom it was chiefly extracted, that is *Plutarch*, who so ardently loved and almost adored the character of *Numa*.

NUMA.

NUMA was born at *Cures*, one of the capital cities of that country of the *Sabines*, the lofty mountains of which we have so often admired in the prospects from the *Roman Campania*.

HE was by nature excellently disposed to virtue; and this disposition was highly improved; first, by a good education in his youth; and afterwards, by his moral philosophic studies, which he was so happy as diligently to continue during his manhood.

It is also particularly remarked, that some adversities, (those perhaps *best* lessons in a princely education) which *Numa* underwent in the early part of his life, were most highly serviceable to him, in perfecting his so excellent frame of mind.

By the joint assistance of all these several means, his breast is said to have been purified, not only from those passions, which are universally considered as vile and mean, but also from those, which by the world are sometimes falsely called virtues.

WHILE

HISTORICAL EXERCISES.

7

WHILE he was yet a private person, and residing at his country-seat at *Cures*, never was there any thing like a complaint heard in his neighbourhood of his avarice, pride, or oppression of the poor; nor ever in his house were there any marks to be seen either of false indulgence (*τρυφή*), or wrong expence (*πολυτελεια*). His time and his industry were constantly employed in (that greatest felicity) an *uninterrupted* chain of never-ceasing good actions. It is remarked, that he was in particular always ready to assist all his country neighbours, either as a faithful and sensible counsellor to them in their private affairs, or in the office of an impartial judge, and kind reconciler, between them. The few hours, which these employments daily left to his own leisure, were not passed in idle amusements or pleasures, nor in schemes of acquiring further wealth to himself, but consecrated to those exalted studies, which are the worthiest objects of the noblest faculties of the human mind; and to that work, which is the most sublime exercise of them; the worship of the great Creator.

THE reputation (which was the natural consequence of such behaviour) induced *Tatius* (then the chief of the *Sabines*, and who even shared the sovereignty of this city) to offer to *Numa* his daughter in marriage; which offer he was so happy

as to see accepted. But this honourable alliance did not in the least affect the mind of *Numa* with pride: he declined living in his father-in-law's state: he continued still to make his country neighbours happy by his residence among them, and there to protect and nurse the old age of his dear father *Pomponius*.

SOME years afterwards, upon the death of his wife, he retired still further from the world: he visited but seldom even his neighbouring town of *Cures*; passing most of his time in solitary country walks, sometimes among consecrated groves and meadows, sometimes in the most desert places to which he could retire: And this not from any melancholy turn of mind, but (as *Plutarch* remarks) because he had the happiness of daily growing more and more acquainted with a society far superior to that of mankind; a society far more respectable and holy; the society of the Deity; who seemed indeed to pour upon him continually the most abundant felicity of heart, enlightening his mind, and filling it with heavenly knowledge. Nor is it strange, according to *Plutarch's* observation, that the Deity should be thus pleased to dwell with such as are most eminently virtuous, or condescend to communicate itself to them, encreasing thus their virtues every day still more and more, and inspiring into their breasts the designs of all their future great and good actions.

I MUST

I MUST desire (said *Crito* here interrupting himself) that you will always make proper allowances in your reflections on every thing of this kind, which in this course of lectures I may have the pleasure of reading to you. I am very sensible, that it is the history of an Heathen nation, on which we are now entering: and in particular that the character now under consideration is that of *Numa*, not that of his royal contemporary, (to whom these sentiments might more fully and properly be applied) the truly devout *Hezekiah*.

BUT to proceed. *Numa* was living in such retirement, and now in the fortieth year of his age, when he was visited by ambassadors from *Rome*, offering him the throne which was then vacant, and to which he had been elected by the unanimous voice of all the inhabitants of this city.—*Numa* with sincerity declined this offer: it being his real opinion, that he was not the proper person for filling that station. *Rome* had from its first foundation been continually breathing the most warlike spirit, continually desirous of some new military enterprise. Whereas he, whom they now so unexpectedly had chosen for their sovereign, was a person of the most opposite disposition; a lover of peace, retirement, and study; and a companion, not of military men, but of those who passed their lives in the quiet occupations of agriculture or pasturage;

10 HISTORICAL EXERCISES.

and who never assembled together, but to contribute to their mutual chearfulness and happiness, or to honour the gods on their festivals by their vocal or instrumental music ascending together to heaven in one united harmony.—But on the other hand it was represented, that perhaps these were the very reasons, which ought to influence him to the acceptance of this high and important office: that perhaps providence was now willing to call into public practice that virtue and wisdom, with which it had so long inspired him in private life; and to use him as an instrument for gradually softening the fierce temper of that warlike nation, bending it under the mild and benign yoke of religion, blessing it by the institution and execution of good laws, and crowning it and all its neighbouring nations with peace and with all the other blessings, which would flow from the government, and still more abundantly from the example of such a sovereign: that on the whole, it was very well known, that *Numa* would not be induced to accept of this offer of the crown, from any consideration of interest; (the royal income being no temptation to so wise a person, who was so happy and contented with his own moderate fortune) nor from any desire of that glory, which attends power and dominion; (he being already surrounded with a much superior glory, the glory of virtue) but that it was also as generally hoped, that he would
not

not decline an office which would open to so wise and good a man so large a field for great and good actions, in benefiting mankind, and in promoting the honour and worship of the Deity.

On these motives he accepted the government, and immediately exerted himself;—I beg pardon for interrupting you, said one of the young gentlemen to *Crillo*, but I cannot help expressing the satisfaction, which I felt when on my return home last night, I took up your *Bossuet's Universal History*, and found mention made there of a sovereign contemporary to *Numa*, whose history seemed to bear a great resemblance to this. I mean *Dejoces*, the first sovereign of the great *Median* empire; who, when that nation was in great confusion and anarchy, was elected to the crown; and that for the sake of his eminent virtues, though they were, I suppose, far inferior to these of *Numa*. But pray proceed, nor let me interrupt you any longer.

On these motives *Numa* accepted the government, and immediately exerted himself in the great duties of it.—It is most highly observable, that the noble objects to which he uniformly directed all the labours of his long reign, were these two;

1. *The encouragement of religion:*
2. *The maintaining of peace.*

1. IN attending the public worship, he himself gave to all his people, and to all his court, a constant and most affecting example of piety. He studied to make the spirit of religion appear amiable to them all, though at the same time he took the utmost care not to diminish from its awfulness; but by the united means both of its sweetness and of its majesty, to captivate and convert the hearts of all his subjects.—It is not to be supposed, but that in those dark and barbarous ages, even the wisest men were subject to great errors in religion, as well as to great superstitions; nor are we to wonder but to lament, that the piety of *Numa* was thus unhappily so very much obscured: it is however greatly to his honour, that during his reign no bloody sacrifices were seen in any of the temples of *Rome*, (oblations of corn, and libations of liquors were then the only sacrifices) nor any image or idolatrous representation of the Deity. If any emblem of the supreme nature was then allowed, it was only that of fire or light, according to the *Pythagorean* and oriental doctrines.

2. NEXT to the encouragement of public piety, *Numa* was attentive to that of agriculture, that happy general employment, which at the same time that it frees mankind from the necessity of bad actions for their support, and from the misery of mutual rapine, yet leaves and encourages in all its
pro-

professors, a proper spirit and strength for the defence of their liberty, and of their several properties. By these united means of religion and of industrious agriculture, he pacified and quieted the minds of his people; he introduced the greatest tranquility and order, and in general a strong sense and love of mutual justice and moderation, among the rough and fierce inhabitants of this city, which very few years before, was little better than a collection of robbers and murderers. Nor were these blessings confined to the times of *Numa*. The spirit of tranquility seems indeed to have expired with him, but the spirit of religion and of agriculture long survived. It is true, that the succeeding kings and governors of *Rome*, who were so much inferior to *Numa*, both in wisdom and goodness, gradually destroyed great part of these and other his noble both political and religious institutions; but yet much remained unhurt both by time and violence, and continued the greatest blessing and honour to the *Roman* nation for several centuries.

SUCH was the reign of *Numa*, in relation to his care of the public tranquility at home. As to peace with other states, he constantly preserved it inviolable; he endeavoured also to extend that greatest of blessings to succeeding ages*. But
through

* This glorious intention of *Numa* is manifest from his institutions of temples and of public divine honours to the god,
Termi-

14 HISTORICAL EXERCISES.

through the whole length of the *Roman* history, no part is to be found equal in this respect to the true happiness and glory of his reign. For desiring no honour, but the highest (that is, the honour of doing good to mankind) and being convinced in his great wisdom how infinitely superior the works of peace are to those of war, he, during a reign of no less than *forty three years*, preserved peace on all sides. For the *Roman* was not the only nation, the temper of which was softened and calmed by his mildness, equity, and beneficence. The same wonderful change, which was produced by these in *Rome*, communicated itself also to the neighbouring states. The manners of all this tract of *Italy* were visibly changed. Instead of the madness and misery of war, there was universally then seen an ardent love of peace, and of agriculture, of family happiness, and of cheerful piety. The wisdom of *Numa* was the abundant source, from which continually flowed such public goodness and virtue. The tranquility of his breast was the occasion of the same in the breasts of so many others.

Terminus; and to the goddess, *Publica Fides*. It is still more manifest from his creation of the office of the *Fecialis*. That office seems to have been originally of the greatest dignity in the state: perhaps superior to the royal authority; at least a curb to it, when willing to engage in an unjust war. — This office by degrees so declined, as at last to become a mere ceremony; which, however, was frequently beneficial to the nations concerned. — Vid. that part of *Plutarch's* life of *Camillus*, which relates to the siege of *Clusium*, and its consequences.

others. Happy himself, he made all others happy: his subjects particularly, who by his example grew wise, and voluntarily conformed themselves to an innocent and happy life, in concord and friendship, in justice and moderation, in industry, and in religion. Surely, that prince is of all others the most worthy of his authority, who can bring to effect such a disposition in his subjects, and neighbouring states; and surely, this is the most noble end of all political wisdom.

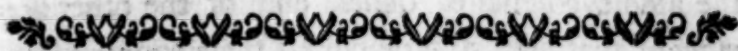
O my dear young friends, it was in this very mead, and by the murmurs of this very fountain, that this good king so often walked, or sat in retirement; exalting his mind by such happy and noble meditations, and planning such designs of happiness to mankind. May the idea of this place, of this grotto and spring, of this meadow and rivulet, never depart from your memories! When returned home, may it influence you to find, in your own gardens, or neighbouring fields, something of a similar (and perhaps more beautiful) spot; and to consecrate it (excuse this fancy!) as the place of similar meditations, as the place of your study, how best to benefit and bless the poor of your country neighbourhood committed to your care, and how most properly to fill your whole sphere of beneficence to your fellow-creatures.

BUT

BUT to conclude. *Numa* died in this happiness at fourscore years of age ; and the whole glorious history of his long life was closed by the scene of the great honours so sincerely and affectionately paid to him at his funeral. For as he had lived without hatred or envy, without sedition or war, either at home or abroad ; so also not only the whole city of *Rome*, but multitudes also of the inhabitants of the neighbouring states joined to pay him the last honours, and to follow him to his grave with tears, and with blessings on his memory.

CHAP.

hill
que
mor
feem
antic
frag
west
appr
that
apar
com
all v
foun
large
cipal
the p
of M
ment



C H A P. II.

SECOND DAY'S CONVERSATION.

Hinc ad Tarpeiam sedem, & Capitolia ducit.

WITH what earnest joy, with what heartfelt sense of the *religio loci*, do most *Englishmen* first approach the *Capitoline* hill? — *Crito's* companions, though they had so frequently already visited it, yet, on their ascent to it this morning, still felt great remains of the same awe. They seemed afresh astonished at the monuments of *Rome's* antient grandeur; they wandered from one colossal fragment to another, when *Crito* led them to the western side of the *Capitol*, into a building still appropriated for the tribunals of the *conservatori*, that is, of the modern *Roman* consuls. Those apartments happening to be that day empty, the company had the opportunity of surveying them all with the greatest leisure and privacy. They found the first grand apartment, or hall, filled with large paintings by *Arpino*, representing the principal events of the first ages of the *Roman* history; the picture of the religious and peaceful character of *Numa* fronted the entrance. The second apartment they found in the same manner adorned with
the

18 HISTORICAL EXERCISES.

the achievements of *Cocles*, and of the other *Romans* of that age, who delivered their country from tyrannic oppression, and so heroically hazarded their lives in defence of its just and natural rights.

Is it not in some degree remarkable, said one of the young gentlemen, that, in turning over the *Grecian* history, we should find *Miltiades*, and the other *Marathonian* heroes, to be contemporary with these most brave *Romans*? For the liberty and consequent greatness both of *Athens* and of *Rome* began exactly at the same time. If I am not mistaken, the expulsion of the *Pisistratidæ* by *Harmodius* and *Aristogiton* happened in the very same year, in which the tyranny of the *Tarquins* was abolished by *Brutus* and *Publicola*. The *Athenian* tyrant fled for refuge to *Darius*, and brought the arms of *Persia* on his country, as the *Roman* tyrant did those of *Etruria*: and surely, though no comparison can be made between the power of *Porfenna*, and that of the great king of the East, yet the spirit of these brave *Romans* was not inferior to that of the *Athenian* heroes, exerted at the same time, and in the same noble cause of the defence of the laws and liberties of their country. — Let us with pleasure examine every one of the pictures on these walls; if not for the sake of the paintings themselves, yet at least out of respect to the memory of the persons here represented,

sented, whose heroic actions filled us with such rapture in our earliest childhood, and which rapture now returns here with double force.

WHEN the company had fully surveyed this room, *Crito* sat down near a large antique head in brass, the basis of which bore the following inscription :

L. JUNIUS BRUTUS. M. F.

EXACTO SUPERBO REGE.

LIBERTATIS VINDEX.

JUNIUS BRUTUS.

JUNIUS BRUTUS was appointed to live in the time of *Tarquin* the Proud, a time most proper for the appearance of such a character, and in all its circumstances exactly suited for the exercise of such particular virtue, and for the manifestation of such strength of mind.

TARQUIN had made himself king of *Rome* by the worst means: though the crown was then elective rather than hereditary, yet he had seized it without the consent either of the senate or of the people; and to obtain it, had not scrupled to murder

murder his father, his brother, and his sister. During his whole reign he was a continual oppressor of his subjects, slaughtering the nobility, and enslaving the people. — Nor was he less injurious to the neighbouring states both by force and by fraud. — Such was the usurper and tyrant, who then dared to sit on and stain the throne of *Numa*. — His queen was, if possible, more execrable and infernal than himself: (as you observed this morning, while passing in your way hither, through the street once called the *Vicus Sceleratus*) their children were wretched enough to follow the wicked counsels and examples of such parents, and thus to prepare themselves to become still more and more the dishonour and plague of their country.

THE evil growing thus excessive and desperate, *Brutus* on a sudden appeared in the glorious character of the deliverer of his country. While the *Romans* lay in the weakest and deepest despondency, broken and sunk under the yoke of such tyranny, he it was who awakened them to a more manly spirit, and fired this nation with the noble flame of fortitude and liberty. Instead of joining his silent sorrow to their ineffectual lamentations, he pointed out to them the remedy of their miseries, the great remedy of self-defence, which the God of nature had graciously placed in their hands. He exhorted them to deliver the public from the cruelty and
pride

pride of its adversaries; particularly of him, who, though by his royal office he ought to have been the protector and father of his people, had thus declared himself their most fatal enemy. He exhorted and encouraged his countrymen to expel the whole of this unworthy family from the throne, and to take that opportunity of founding a new form of government, which might be a security to their posterity from all such future oppressions.

WITH great courage did he enter on this work; with great wisdom and resolution did he compleat it: and justly may he be revered as the founder of the liberty of *Rome*, as *Numa* was of its religion and virtue.

THE *Romans* chose their deliverer to be one of their first legal magistrates; but scarce had he taken his seat on the consular tribunal, but his own sons were brought before him as their judge. These degenerate young men, blind to the virtues and glory of such a father, had been wretched enough to join themselves with the vile young *Tarquins*. Corrupted, first by false ambition, then by mean self-interest, (its consequence) they had gradually come to consent, first to do evil to their country, then to suffer the destruction of its liberty; though the general cause both of senate and people, and even the life of their father, the late great deliverer

22 HISTORICAL EXERCISES.

of both, must have been lost in the public ruin and destruction.

WHAT could the unhappy father do? How gladly would he have forgiven their ingratitude and cruelty to himself? But he could not protect them from the strict laws of their country, from that most inflexible justice, for which the antient *Roman* state was so renowned. — *Tarquin* himself had been just expelled for the sake of justice: and the office, with which *Brutus* was now intrusted, forced him to pass sentence on the criminals, and even to be spectator of their punishment. With extreme anguish of heart, struggling against all the strength and resolution of his mind, (a conflict not unworthily expressed in his antique statue, which we admired, a few days ago, at the entrance of the *Villa Mattei*) but, as *Livy* well observes, *Eminente animo patrio inter publicæ pene ministerium*; he went through the dreadful scene, and saw the blood of his sons streaming at the foot of his tribunal. He then descended from his chair of state, led out the *Roman* troops against their enemies and invaders, and had soon the happiness and glory of expiring on the field of battle, and thus of compleating the sacrifice of himself to the public cause.

THE

THE memory of this exalted hero has been always regarded with the greatest admiration by the true patriots of all ages and nations; by the *Romans* particularly with the greatest gratitude and reverence: it being their general opinion, that it was nothing near so glorious an undertaking in *Romulus* to found their city, as it was in *Brutus* thus to found their commonwealth.

THE great scene of the trial of his unworthy sons is to this day represented in a large picture over the present tribunal in the *Capitol*, with this motto, *Diligite Justitiam*; (if you look in the next room, you will see it over those two modern consular chairs of state) as a monument and memorial of what the duty is of a magistrate, and what the punishment and disgrace that is due to those young men, who having the peculiar blessing of such virtuous parents, are vile enough to degenerate from so great and domestic an example.

* * *

THUS have I, in compliance with the general admiration and veneration, which is paid in so high a degree, and with so much justice, to the memory of *Brutus*, endeavoured to represent to you *some* traces of his exalted heroism: (it being needless here to enter into *all* the particulars of the lives of

D 2

these

24 HISTORICAL EXERCISES.

these so much celebrated *Roman* heroes.) In the same compliance I have selected him as the principal character of his time: though as to what passes in my own breast, I must own that there was a *contemporary* character, which affects my heart and attracts my love much more, and whose memory seems at once both far more glorious, and far more amiable.

As I was sitting alone last Sunday evening, in one of the shady walks of the *Palatine* garden, near the *Precipice*, antiently known by the name of the *Summit of Velia**, and meditating on the catalogue of *Roman* worthies, which I was then (perhaps not without some sentiments proper to the day) intending to propose to your consideration, I was struck with the thought, that I was then seated on the very spot of *Publicola's* house, and of his grave; than whom in all the long history of *Rome*, there seemed to be none more proper to be proposed as an example, especially to the noble youth of that country, which is at present the chief seat of liberty, and perhaps also of fortitude and benevolence.

VALERIUS

* The *Summit of Velia* is that part of the *Palatine* hill, which is immediately above the *Lupercal* rock, and consequently hangs over the south-west angle of the *Roman Forum*. It is now a little terrace, at the end of one of the retired walks in the *Farnese* gardens on that hill.

VALERIUS PUBLICOLA.

WITH what pleasure does the good *Plutarch* enter on this character? Placing it between the beloved characters of *Numa* and *Camillus*; and remarking at the very beginning of it, that *Valerius Publicola* was descended from that *Valerius**, who was the principal author of the reconciliation and union between the *Romans* and *Sabines*.

DURING the reign of *Tarquin*, *Publicola* was very eminent both for his eloquence and riches: the first of which he employed with great integrity and courage in defence of justice, (though under such a tyrannical government) and the other in relieving with great liberality and love the necessities of persons in distress. For the needy had always an easy access to him, nor were his gates ever shut against the petitions of persons of low estate. Thus was he in point of fortune doubly happy: for his fortune was not only originally justly acquired, but was constantly thus employed to the most noble, the most wise and good purposes.

ΠΛΕΙΣΤΑ ΚΤΩΜΕΝΟΙ ΣΥΝ ΤΩ ΔΙΚΑΙΩ,

ΠΛΕΙΣΤΟΙΣ ΔΕ ΧΡΩΜΕΝΟΙ ΣΥΝ ΤΩ ΚΑΛΩ.

D 3

PUBLI-

* *Valerius Volesus* was one of the *Roman* ambassadors, who brought the offer of the crown to *Numa*. Query, whether he was not the same man?

PUBLICOLA was the *first* person who joined *Brutus* in his glorious design of delivering his country from that bloody usurper, under whose tyranny it groaned, being nothing daunted at the dangers and difficulties of that great enterprize. Indeed, in all matters of conflict, tumult, and opposition, he always behaved himself with the greatest courage and resolution, though the works of charity and peace, of persuasion and condescension, were his favourite employments.

AFTER the expulsion of the tyrant, *Publicola* willingly yielded the principal rank and power in the new commonwealth to *Brutus*. He expected indeed to have been chosen by the people colleague to *Brutus* in his first consulship; but though disappointed in attaining that honour, which he had so well merited, yet he continued firm in the cause of the republic, active in suppressing all conspiracies against it, and in frustrating all attempts for the re-establishment of the tyrant. For to so noble and benevolent a mind, tyranny was always the object of the greatest aversion.

BUT how can I attempt to describe his great and good works, when afterwards he was advanced to the supreme magistracy? Both in foreign and in domestic affairs his behaviour surely was most noble as well as most amiable.

AGAINST

AGAINST the enemies of his country he was active in the fields of battle, (from which he frequently returned covered with honourable wounds) and as remarkable for his conduct as for his courage; some very important victories being entirely attributed to his great skill in generalship.

As to negotiations, he was equally great: for at that very time when the *Romans*, with great difficulty, could scarce defend even the walls of their city, he obtained for them as good terms of peace, as a victory might be expected to produce: *Porfenna*, that formidable and invincible antagonist of *Rome*, being by his means, and greatly by respect to his character, reconciled and made a friend to that republic. Indeed, the negotiations of *Publicola* were of almost an irresistible weight, not only on account of his great abilities and wisdom by which they were forwarded; but much more on account of the nature of that principle, on which they were formed and founded: the principle of justice. For to obtain to his countrymen their just rights, he made no difficulty of giving up what they had usurped on their neighbours. In such noble negotiations he could with boldness and success make even his antagonist, the great and generous *Porfenna*, judge of the *Roman* cause.

As to domestic affairs, it is easy to imagine that he must have acquired great and general esteem and love, by his generous care in honouring the memory of *Brutus*, and in rewarding the bravery of *Cocles* : having for the last of these provided a public honourable allowance during life, and having honoured the death of the other, by the *first* funeral oration which perhaps was ever spoke in any country. His oration over the corps of *Brutus* is certainly more antient than the so famous *Grecian* funeral orations either of *Demosthenes*, *Plato*, or *Pericles* : and was an example which was constantly followed by the greatest men of his own country in all succeeding ages.

As to the government, his ideas seem to have been these. As he had joined to overturn the tyrant's power from a principle, not of oligarchical pride and ambition, but of sincere love to the public ; so now, in modelling the new commonwealth, (of which indeed he became the principal legislator) he took care to preserve the real liberty of the people : enacting several laws against the power of the nobles, as well as several of charity to the poor, and of mercy even to offenders. He abated greatly the pomp of his own office : making it mild and popular ; he abridged the power of it also by several institutions, particularly by taking from it the management of the treasury, of which
he

he delivered the care to other commissioners (the Quæstors) elected by the people.

HE thoroughly settled the government of *Rome*, in the manner in which it lasted in great measure inviolable till the times of the civil wars.

AFTER having thus seen his country victorious through his courage and conduct, and flourishing through his ministry and legislation; after having himself received some of the honours due to such public services, (four consulships, and two triumphs) he committed the care of his beloved people into the hands of those who were to succeed him in his high offices, and died full of honours and days. He died, after a life well spent in the attainment of every thing that is great or desirable, as much (according to *Plutarch's* judgment) as a man is capable of such attainments here below.

HIS death not only drew tears from his friends and acquaintance, but became the object of national sorrow. The people, sensible how greatly they were still in his debt for the many singular services which he had rendered to them, decreed that a public mourning should be observed for a year in his memory, and that his body should be honourably interred at the public charge, and a sepulchre granted within the city to him, and to all

30 HISTORICAL EXERCISES.

all his descendants*, on the very spot of *Velia*, where he had so generously sacrificed his house, that noble edifice, to the contentment of the people.

To that spot, if you please, we will now take our walk, for it is not more than half a mile distant from this place: I am sure, that you in particular, dear Sir, (speaking to the young gentleman who was yesterday wishing to make libations at the grotto of *Numa*) will not be averse to that visit, and that you will carry with you thither *in your imagination* all the poetical and classical offerings (the elegant description of which you lately shewed to me in *Æschylus*) proper for honouring the place of such a sepulchre; the sepulchre of *Publicola*, whose memory is almost as sweet and lovely as that of *Numa* himself.

—— Πρτυμενεὺς χοῶς

Φερῶν ἀπὲρ νεκροῖσι μελιχτηρία*

Βοῦ τ' ἀφ' ἀγνῆς λευκὸν εὐποτόν γαλα,

Τῆς τ' ἀνθεμβρυγῆ σάγμα, παμφαεὶς μελι*

Λιβασίν υδρηλοῖς παρθενα πηγῆς μετὰ

Ἀκηρατοῦ τε, μητρὸς ἀγρίας ἀπο,

Ποτοῦ παλαιᾶς ἀμπελῆ γανθὸς τοδε*

Τῆς

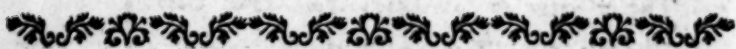
* The descendants of *Publicola* formed three branches, *Publicola*, *Messala*, and *Valerii*; which for several centuries continued to be esteemed, on his account, three of the most noble families in *Rome*.

Τῆς τ' αἰεν ἐν Φυλλοῖσι θαλάσσης βίου
 Ξανθῆς εἰλαιας κάρπῳ εὐωδῆς παρὰ
 Ἀνθ' τε πλεῖστα παμφόρου γαίας τέχνα.

Ἡ φίλῳ ἀνθ' Ἡ φίλῳ οὐχὶ ταφῷ
 Φίλα γὰρ κεκευθὲν ἦδη.

ÆSCH. PERSÆ.

Accipe, Sancte Cinis, pietatis munera nostræ!
Inferias gratas accipe, Sancte Cinis!
Lac dabitur purum candentis ab ubere vaccæ;
Labruscæque, fluens per tua busta, merum;
Sertum oleæ semper viride; Et quæ lucida mella
Suavi è rore rosæ sedula stipat apis.
Terra tibi omniparens feret omnia sæcula florum;
Virgineus vitreas fons tibi fundet aquas.
Salve, Chære Cinis! Salve ipsius herba sepulchri,
Quâ secreta tibi, tutaque paria quies.



CHAP. III.

THIRD DAY'S CONVERSATION.

¹
THE next morning this company again visited the *Capitol*; and passing through its principal area, (by the fountain adorned with the porphyry statue of *Roma triumphans*, and the colossal figure of the *Tiber*) ascended the highest western part of the hill. There they entered into a little garden, from which a beautiful prospect opened itself of the neighbouring hills and vallies, particularly of mount *Aventine*, and the *Tiber* winding at its feet.

FROM hence, with the greatest raptures of classical pleasure, the young gentlemen pointed out to one another the ruins of the *Sublician* bridge, still remaining in the midst of the stream; the place, on one shore, where *Porfenna's* camp (the theatre of the fortitude of *Scævola*) was situated, and on the other, where

Æneadæ in ferrum pro libertate ruebant,
 — Pontem audebat quæ vellere Cocles;
Quæ fluvium vinclis innabat Clælia ruptis.

Nor did they omit to take notice of the opinion of some historians, that this last act of courage is justly to be attributed, not to *Clælia*, but to *Valeria*, the daughter of *Valerius Publicola*.

THE conversation now again turned on the character of that great man ; especially as they recollected another far more noble, and truly heroic action performed by another of his family on this very hill. For it was on this very hill, and among the several temples which adorned its two summits, that *Valeria*, the sister of *Publicola*, (at all times almost as highly ennobled by her own virtues, as by those of her family) equalled the patriotic spirit and wisdom of this her great brother. For it was among the altars here erected, and then covered with sacrifices, that she was suddenly struck with that emotion of mind, (viz. *Plutarch*) and with the great idea of that expedient, which alone was able to save her country from the fury of *Coriolanus*. It was from this hill that she led the whole body of the *Roman* matrons ; and, with *Volumnia* and *Veturia* at their head, advanced in procession to those meadows, which are still honoured with the remains of the temple of *Fortuna Muliebris* ; and there performed that action, the description of which is so favourite a subject of historians and painters, and so proper for the tragic poets. How happy, (said *Crito's* pupil) if it could have been possible

possible for *Euripides* to have worked on that subject? And how nobly would he perhaps have opened his tragedy by a soliloquy of *Valeria* on this spot?

THE whole morning would probably have imperceptibly passed away in discoursing on this so moving a part of the antient history of *Rome*, but *Crito* reminded the company, that they needed not here to confine their thoughts to the admiration of the heroes of that *early* age only: that this very garden was the scene of *Roman* fortitude, at a time of still greater public distress, than that which was occasioned by the invasions either of *Tarquin*, or of *Coriolanus*: that the precipice, on the brink of which they were now standing, was the very spot, where

*In summo custos Tarpeie Manlius arcis
Stabat pro Templo, & Capitolia celsa tenebat.*

THE sound of these verses immediately gave a new turn to the conversation: the young company looked with earnestness down the precipice, and surveyed the valley which lies at the foot of the rock. The whole scene of the *Gallic* siege now rose in their minds, as well as the characters of *Manlius*, and of the other brave *Romans* here besieged, and (above all) that of their great deliverer
Camillus,

Camillus, by far the principal hero of his age. These now became the subjects of their warm discourse, as long as they continued in that garden, and during their walk from thence down to the *Via Triumphalis*. In this descent they stopt for sometime at the grand portico still remaining of the temple of *Concord*: and here *Crito*, observing that the place was too public for reading, desired his pupil to accept the following paper to be perused by him and his two friends at their leisure in their own lodgings.

ACCORDINGLY descending from the *Capitol*, they visited the neighbouring street, where once were the *Busta Gallica*, and from thence returning home conversed in the way with pleasure on the other scenes of the history of *Camillus* which they had lately seen; particularly the fields by which they had passed the day before their arrival at *Rome*, and in which *Veii* is by some authors said to have stood. But with far more satisfaction did they recollect those places were the goodness of this hero was still more illustrious than his fortitude: the beautiful hills of *Tusculum*, (on which they had so often looked with pleasure from the *Roman Campania*) and that other, if possible, still (at least by nature) more beautiful hill of *Monte Fiasconi*, anciently *Mons Faliscorum*, from whence they had lately so admired the fertile plains of *Viterbo*, and the

the noble *Vulfinian* lake ; regions, which, though so beautiful, *Camillus* would not acquire to his country by injustice or cruelty.

As soon as the young gentlemen had returned to their lodgings, they sat down to the perusal of the following paper.

C A M I L L U S.

*Quem virum aut heroa lyrâ vel acri
Tibiâ sumes celebrare, Clio? —*

WHO best deserves to be ranked immediately after the venerable characters of *Numa*, *Brutus*, and *Publicola* ? Who so proper as *Camillus* to be joined to this noble triumvirate of the most exalted patriots, and almost founders of *Rome* ?

CAMILLUS, on his entrance into the administration of public affairs, found his country engaged in long and heavy wars with the neighbouring nations ; particularly with that of *Veii*, at that time the principal city of all *Etruria*, and in power (though when standing single by itself) equal to *Rome*. *Camillus* entirely subdued this obstinate enemy, and implacable rival of his country :

try : but yet in the midst of the heat and glory of this conquest (a conquest, in his opinion, as just and necessary as it was important) he could not forbear shedding tears of compassion on its ruins, with the same generous sense of humanity, which *Marcellus* and *Scipio*, and all the other true heroes of all countries and times, have constantly shewed on the like occasions.

IN the reduction of the other enemies of his country, *Camillus* was still more glorious : for he subdued them, not only by his military conduct and courage, but also by the weight of his goodness and mercy to them. He saved them from destruction; he at the same time thus, in the most effectual manner, secured and strengthened his own country, and left to all the future generations of *Rome* the great glory and benefit of such an example. For in having thus (like his contemporary *Epaminondas*) preferred justice to victory, he certainly performed an action far more noble, and gave a far better example, than any of the *Roman* conquerors of the universe.

As to the internal factions and parties, which then so divided this city, *Camillus*, though a patrician, was very far from ever being an oppressor of the commons. He hated all that scene of strife and discord. He always preferred strict justice,

38 HISTORICAL EXERCISES.

and his real patriotic duty to all vain popularity. He was always firm in resisting all the seditions of this people, which was always indeed so turbulent against their government, and so avaricious and ambitious in their designs against their neighbouring nations. He never shewed any jealousy of any particular person; but always chose those persons to be his assistants and colleagues in his high offices, who were most likely to be the most serviceable to the public. Unhappily, as we must own, he was too sensible of his own great merits, and this unhappy circumstance was sufficient to convert great part of the general admiration of his virtues into hatred and malice against him. There is indeed no degree of merit, which pride will not destroy. On the other hand, the ingratitude of the *Romans* was certainly most inexcusable; for with all the mean and miserable envy of an *Athenian* democracy, they passed sentence of banishment on this their so great benefactor, and in all other respects (except this unhappy circumstance) so worthy a man.

HOWEVER this may be, the behaviour of *Camillus*, on this occasion, certainly and most highly deserves our attention. For he went not to seek refuge and protection among the enemies of the state, and to offer them (like *Coriolanus*) his impious service against his ungrateful country; on leaving *Rome*, he prostrated himself before the temples

• The noble th
lifted up
that the
nor ever
recall. I
happened
vation did
behaved o
haps the

temples on the *Capitoline* hill, (perhaps this very morning we trod there in some of his footsteps) praying to heaven, that, in recompence for these his present undeserved sufferings, he might soon have the satisfaction to hear that the *Romans* had occasion as earnestly to desire his recall, as they had to vote his banishment. And in this he did not, from resentment, wish that any calamity might fall on his country; but was only desirous, that, in such a case, he might have the high pleasure of being her deliverer, even at the price of his own blood, and thus in the most glorious and heroic manner take this noble revenge for all her injustice to him: thus putting in practice that excellent doctrine, which *Xenophon* and *Plato* were at that very time teaching in the schools of *Athens*, that an honest and good man, however ill used by his country, preserves always in his heart a mediator in her behalf, and seeks all opportunities of doing her the greatest service in his power*, whether it be by life, or whether it be by death.

E 2

SCARCE

* The behaviour of the *Athenian Aristides* was still more noble than this of *Camillus*. Being banished from *Athens*, he lifted up his eyes to the temples in the *Acropolis*, and prayed that the *Athenians* might never suffer for their injustice to him, nor ever see that day, which should force them to wish for his recall. It is remarkable, that the invasion of *Greece*, by *Xerxes*, happened during the banishment of *Aristides*, as the *Galic* invasion did during this of *Camillus*; and that both these heroes behaved on their recall in a similar noble manner, though perhaps the *Grecian* was always somewhat superior.

SCARCE had *Camillus*, with these exalted sentiments, patiently and quietly retired to his place of exile, when the *Gauls*, like an unexpected irresistible inundation, overwhelmed all the *Roman* territories. *Rome* saw almost in an instant all her legions funk and scattered before the enemy; her ramparts deserted; her inhabitants flying from her in the height of despair on one side, and the barbarians pouring into her gates on the other; all her senators and magistrates (who were most venerable for age and dignity) massacred in the midst of the *Forum*, and all the magnificence of six, out of her seven hills, in the utmost desolation, in ruins, and in flames.—In this utmost distress, where could she turn her eyes for assistance?—She called *Camillus* to this most dangerous and almost desperate service. He obeyed the summons with the greatest alacrity, and at the same time with the greatest modesty; a modesty greatly improved by his late adversities.

HE marched to *Rome* with all expedition; —

* * *

THE young gentlemen had proceeded thus far in the perusal of *Crito's* paper, when a large parcel of books, consisting chiefly of the historians and biographers of antient *Rome* and modern *Italy* (which they had lately purchased, being brought home, their lecture was for some time suspended;

not

not
por
had
Plu
the
mul
and
Tber
poet
marc
ende
tragi
deser
the c
battle
in sm

—
D
E
M
E
E
A

Another
some of
in the

not indeed improperly ; as this pause gave an opportunity to *Crito's* pupil (who among these books had bought for his own use the *London* edition of *Plutarch's* Lives, in *Greek*) to observe, in opening the first volume, that, as all students in history must agree with *Plutarch* in the great similitude and parallelism of the times of *Camillus* and of *Themistocles* ; so also he imagined, that if a young poet was attempting to describe the spirit of this march of *Camillus* to *Rome*, he would with joy endeavour to copy some of the ideas of the *Grecian* tragic poet (whom *Crito* yesterday quoted) in his description of the approach of the *Grecians*, under the conduct of *Themistocles* and *Aristides*, to the battle of *Salamis*, while *Athens* lay before them all in smoke.

———— Παρην δ' εμὲ κλυεῖν
 Πολλὴν βοήν· ὦ παῖδες Ἑλλήνων ἴτε
 Ἐλευθερετε πατρίδ'· Ἐλευθερετε δὴ
 Παιδας, γυναίκας, θεῶν τε πατρῶων εἰδη
 Θηκας τε προγόνων· Νυν ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀγών· —
 Ἐς' ἀρ' Ἀθηνῶν, εἰς' ἀπορρητὸν πόλιν·
 Ἀνδρῶν γὰρ οὐτῶν, ἐρχομένων εἰς αἰὲν ἀσφαλες.

ÆSCHYLI PERSÆ.

Another of the young gentlemen, who had bought some of the *Venetian* historians, observed also, that in the modern history of *Italy*, something might

be found very *similar*, and perhaps superior to this noble behaviour of *Camillus*; I mean, said he, in the history of those times, when *Venice*, which city once seemed to be rising to rival the antient glory and power of *Rome* and of *Athens*, was on a sudden reduced to almost as great distress, as *Rome* in the time of *Camillus*, or *Athens* in that of *Themistocles* and *Aristides*. With what pleasure did we, during our stay at *Venice*, visit the senate-house of that republic; being informed that it was adorned with the history of the chief heroisms of that nation, painted by *Titian*, and others, the principal masters of the *Venetian* school; in the same manner as the *British* house of Lords is adorned with those rich tapestries representing our victories over the great *Spanish* armada? But how particularly were we pleased in finding in the middle of that grand senatorial chamber, and immediately fronting the ducal throne, a large picture representing this delivery of the *Venetian* state by *Vittor Pisani**, and that great and good man joined with the Doge *Cornaro* in a solemn religious as well as triumphal procession on that great occasion? — But let us return to *Camillus*.

HE marched to *Rome* with all expedition. He attacked the victorious *Gauls* in the midst of the
ruins

* A short account of the character of this *Venetian* hero is inserted in the Appendix of this volume.

ruins of this city: he conquered, and had the particular happiness and glory of seeing, on the very day on which he himself returned from banishment, his country also saved, and her liberty and laws, her power and reputation, her security and even her existence, all restored by his patriotic valour.

CAMILLUS, after these most great services to the public, continued still the same noble and exalted patriotism during all the remainder of his days; far from ever sinking below his former behaviour, (though he lived five and thirty years longer) the glory of his virtue was encreasing even to the last. He considered doubtless, how shameful it would be in any character, but how particularly so in such a character as he himself had acquired, ever to cease his utmost endeavours for the public good, as long as the least breath of life should remain in his breast.

IN the following year, by rebuilding the city, he became its second founder: by his reverential care in restoring the religious rites and ruined temples of his country, he almost equaled the piety of *Numa*: by saving the liberty of the commonwealth in the trial and condemnation of *Manlius*, he followed the fortitude and strict patriotism of *Brutus*. For the execution of *Manlius*

44 HISTORICAL EXERCISES.

(considering his former actions, particularly that on the very spot of his punishment) was as great a sacrifice to inflexible justice, as that of the sons of *Brutus*; nor could either of those executions be then seen, or even now read, without a tear, or some heartfelt generous concern.

NOR did the approach of old age hinder *Camillus* even from frequently taking the field in defence of his country, and from behaving there with the same spirit as in the height of the noble ardour of his youth. In several important battles with the neighbouring nations, in which the *Roman* armies began to give way, he cast himself out of his litter (in which he was confined by age and sickness) and recovered the victory out of the enemy's hands. And to conclude all his military merit, he marched out of this city at the age of fourscore and three years, to resist the *Gauls*, (who were again returning hither with an army much more formidable than that of *Brennus*) and by their total defeat preserved *Rome* from the return of all her former dreadful calamities.

THE other labours of his declining years were, that he several times saved the allies of *Rome* from ruin; that he reclaimed several cities which were on the point of revolting from her, and by his mediation with the senate averted their punishment.

As

As to the domestic affairs of the commonwealth, he still continued to bear up in all those storms of faction with the same prudence and firmness, with the same impartiality and noble intentions, as in the vigour of his manhood; and at last had the happiness of being the instrument of a great reconciliation between the contending parties: on that account he had the honour of erecting the temple of *Concord**, between the *Forum* and *Capitol*, (how properly situated!) and of consecrating it almost in his last hour, as a monument of his love to all the members of his country; and of his gratitude to heaven, for having crowned his long and glorious life with so truly noble a conclusion.

C H A P.

* The noble portico of the temple of *Concord*, which is to this day still standing there, bears the following republican inscription: *Senatus Populusque Romanus incendio consumptum restituerunt*. Probably the original temple of *Camillus* was burnt in the conflagration of the *Capitol* during the miserable civil wars of *Marius* and *Sylla*; and thus rebuilt before the consulship of *Tully*.



C H A P. IV.

FOURTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

THIS day some unexpected business intervening, the company could not continue as usual their happy employment. They were grieved at night to think, that they had suffered twenty-four hours to pass away at *Rome*, without having seen one monument of antiquity : accordingly, though it was after supper, they proposed to make a visit, before they slept, to the *Forum Romanum*.

THE sun had been now set several hours, the moon too was sinking near the edge of the horizon, when they entered that venerable place. The high buildings on the *Capitoline* hill cast a gloomy shade over the whole *Forum*, and over all the ancient temples surrounding it ; (*Ibi enim nullus est locus, qui non sit religionis & Deorum plenus*) on the other hand, the moon shining on the arched ruins of mount *Palatine*, and on the cypress grove with which its summit is crowned, added not a little to the solemnity of the whole. Not a breeze was stirring ; every thing was most solitary and still.

Horror ubique animos, simul ipsa silentia terrent.

AWFUL

AWFUL as this grand scene is at present (said one of these noble youths) how much greater sublimity attends its idea, when we reflect on that description of it, which we read last night in *Livy* and *Plutarch's* life of *Camillus*. For it was round this very area, in which we are now walking, that all the *Roman* senate, particularly those most venerable for age and dignity, then sat in quiet and solemn expectation of death; dressed in their robes, and seated in their chairs of state, *summo silentio, vultuque hominibus augustiore: Q. Fabio, Pontifice Maximo, carmen devotionis præcinente*. Surely we ought to be more struck *religione hujus loci*, than yesterday even with that of the *Capitol*.—But what effect ought this awful place to have had on the minds of the ancient *Romans*? This place, which was their house of Parliament, washed and as it were consecrated with the blood of their whole senate, and of the whole body of their magistracy, who had here devoted themselves to certain death, rather than survive their country.

Egregiique animis, fortunatique laborum.

VENERABLE (replied another of the young company) as the death of these veteran patriots was, yet, thank heaven, there are not wanting instances of as noble spirit in young men. It ought indeed to grieve one to think that our minds are so little exalted, when so many persons of our own youthful

youthful age have shewn as ardent a love to their country, as great fortitude and contempt of death, as ever adorned the grayest head. For it was close by this very fountain (the murmurs of which alone break this midnight silence) that *Curtius, ille juvenum fortissimus alios seniores tardioresque exemplo suo castigavit, nihil esse pretiosius ostendens juventâ & virtute : in hoc ipso loco, silentio factò, templà deorum immortalium, quæ huic foro imminent, Capitoliumque intuens, & manus nunc in cælum, nunc in patentes terræ hiatus ad deos manes porrigens, se devorvit : in hoc ipso loco, equo quàm poterat maxime exornato, armatus se in specum imisit.* What pity is it that his most noble figure in this attitude, which so adorns the walls of the *Borghese Villa*, was not preserved in some public building erected in this spot, *ad perpetuam rei memoriam, perpetuumque juventutis incitamentum ?*

WHATEVER may be thought of that history of *Curtius*, replied *Crito*, yet certainly in general the doctrine of meeting death in the cause of public beneficence, of meeting it not only with firmness but with alacrity also, is most true and noble in itself, as well as most highly useful to mankind. Happy is it that there are to be found, in the history of the world, so many encouraging examples of it, in all times and in all countries. What multitudes both of old and young, have in this cause

cause poured forth their blood? How frequently have both the learned and the ignorant, the Heathen and the Christian, with this same intention, willingly entered the gates of death? For I must add, that all, who have at any time made great advances in the study of wisdom, and improvement of human nature, have been unanimous in this sublime doctrine. This was the most exalted as well as truest wisdom of the *Greek* and *Roman* philosophy; this has been confirmed by Christianity by much higher arguments and much higher examples.—Saying this, *Crito* paused a little; and then, leaning his arm against one of the three pillars of the temple of *Jupiter Stator*, spoke as follows.

D E C I I.

IT was a religious opinion, received by the ancients with the utmost veneration, that in great dangers of the state, the impending general destruction might sometimes be averted, if the prince or some of the chief magistrates had the nobleness of mind to be willing to offer themselves as a sacrifice for their country, and to devote themselves to certain death for her sake. — This opinion, though plainly mixed with so great a degree of superstition, yet perhaps in its origin referred to something really most venerable, as well as most mysterious.

It

50 HISTORICAL EXERCISES.

IT might also probably in part arise from that observation (which is confirmed by the experience of all ages and nations) that, where the governors are such, as to be sincerely willing to undergo all labours, dangers and sufferings, and even to shed all their blood for the real welfare of their people; that the people also will by these means acquire such a degree of strength as well as of virtue, that it will be scarce in the power of any enemy to overturn their state, or of any weight of adversity to sink it down.

MANY have been the heroes of antiquity, who from such motives have gladly devoted themselves to certain death*: but there are none who are in this glory, equal to the *Roman* family of the *Decii*. — It was, if I recollect right, about the 415th year of this city, about the very time that in *Greece* at the battle of *Cheronea* so many *Theban* and *Athenian* captains were imitating the heroism of their antient *Codrus* and *Menæceus*, that there was here also in *Italy* a most desperate war between the *Latins* and *Romans*. In the plains near mount *Vesu-*

vius,

* The most truly laudable of all these characters seems to be that monarch, whose spirit *Fenelon* so nobly and worthily places among the principal patriot kings, in his *Elysian Fields*, book xix. *Euneſyme, roi des Pyliens. Dans une peste qui ravageoit la terre, il demanda aux dieux d'apaiser leur colere, en payant par sa mort pour tant des milliers d'hommes innocens. Les dieux l'exaucerent, & lui firent trouver dans l'autre vie la vraie royauté, dont toutes celles de la terre ne sont que des vaines ombres.*

TELEMAQUE.

vins, the armies of each nation met, with equal valour, strength, and discipline on each side. In the conflict the *Roman* legions began to give way, when the consul *Publius Decius*, with the most awful solemnity — But give me leave for further particulars of that action, to refer you to the most noble-spirited historian, *Livy*; by whom the glory of this hero is as much eternized, as that of any of the *Grecian* heroes by any of the eloquence of *Athens*.

SOME years after this event, when a war had broke out between the *Romans* and the *Cisalpine Gauls*, joined (if I remember right) with some of the most warlike nations in *Italy*, *Publius Decius* (the son of him whom we just now mentioned) being consul, and one of the commanders in a very important engagement in *Tuscany*, victory greatly inclining to the side of the enemy, Why stand I, said he, thus idle and useless? thus forgetful of following the glorious destiny of my family?

*It is the right, the birthright of our house,
For Rome to die.——*

But give me leave to refer you, for the particulars of this action also, to the same great historian. — O my dear young countrymen, with what pleasure will you (you, some of whose hearts so nobly burn to imitate the examples of your great and truly patriotic ancestors, whose names both
in

in their lives and deaths so nobly have adorned the annals of *Britain*!) with what pleasure and rapture will you observe in the annals of this glorious city, such a son copying the patriotism of such a father, even to death; and both their memoirs for ever thus joined together, and crowned with the same glory*.

Denique bello contra Pyrrhum regem, Tertius Decius se Tertiam victimam reipublicæ præbuit, a paterno avitque in patriam amore non degener:—

† *Magnorum haud unquam indignus avorum.*

How much soever these heroes were misled by the ignorance and barbarous superstition of their times, yet certainly the nobleness of their intentions, and the exalted degree of their benevolence to their country, are such as would do honour to characters of the greatest wisdom, to ages and nations the most enlightened. For surely the great duty of beneficence has not only a claim on us for our whole time and fortune, and for the labours both of our bodies and minds; it has a claim to our blood also. Nor is there perhaps among all the particular duties of beneficence, any one which

* Contemporary with the first *Decius* was *Timoleon*; with the second, *Phocion*.

† These are the words of *Tully*, in his noble treatise *De contemptenda morte*, joined to part of those most moving lines on something of a similar subject in the xiith *Æneid*.

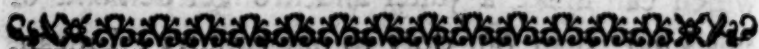
which can make a juster and stronger demand of this kind, than our duty to our country; I mean, when we are called to this service on such an occasion as makes it just, and necessary, and consistent with our duty to the rest of mankind: nor is there a more noble patrimony in any family, than this of being able to count up several of their house, who have performed this great duty, and left this exalted example.—We have heard, on our *British* theatre, the great *Roman* patriot *Cato* lament in his last hour, that he could die but *once* to serve his country *. But it has been the privilege of several families (it was particularly so of the family of that same great man) to have the felicity and glory to offer up *several* sacrifices of this kind, and *frequently* to emulate the grandeur of the house of the *Decii*.

VOL. I.

F

CHAP.

* It is said, that most part of the tragedy of *Cato* (particularly that scene from which this exalted line is copied) were wrote by Mr. *Addison*, while at *Rome*.



CHAP. V.

FIFTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

ONE of the company having proposed an excursion into the *Ager Romanus*, it was with the greatest willingness that they all met the following morning at the *Collatine* gate, from thence took the road to *Tivoli*, the antient *Tibur*. The *Campania* of *Rome* was then in its highest beauty, its grass and corn being both still green, and the *Sabine* mountains, which so magnificently terminate it, still in many parts white with snow.—Pleasing and grand as this prospect is (said one of the young gentlemen with half a sigh) how inferior is it to our own country? In this wide and naturally most fertile plain, where is there to be seen any thing like one of our beautiful plantations, like one of our substantial farm houses, or even like one of our neat cottages? The natural beauty too of the grass will be soon destroyed by the summer's heats, and the whole *Campania* rendered uninhabitable by the pestilential air attending them. What reason have we all to think ourselves happy in our healthy, populous, ever verdant,

Και Μαναρὴ Νησῶ, ἢν Ωκεανίδες

Αὐραὶ περιπνεύου:

Vid. PINDAR.

But

But how particularly happy is the country gentleman of *England*, who every year sees some new plantation rise on his lands, and (what is much more important) sees continually all around him his country neighbours comfortably clothed, lodged, and fed, made happy by (those two chief instruments of a national benevolent providence) the public liberty and commerce of their country, and, in the next degree, by their own industry, and the goodness of their landlord.

*His father's acres who enjoys in peace,
Or makes his neighbours glad, if he increase;
Whose chearful tenants bless their early toil,
Yet to their Lord owe more than to their soil:
Whose rising forests, not for pride or show,
For future buildings, future navies grow;
May his plantations stretch from down to down,
First shade a country, and then rise a town!*

MAY this great happiness (replied Crito with a smile of the most benevolent charity) in its highest and noblest degree always attend three of this company; and may I too, in my little parish, be always so happy as to have something of planting, study, and charity continually on my hands! But yet let us not undervalue the country in which we are at present: these very plains, tho' wanting houses and trees, yet how beautiful are they, and how varied continually with hillocks and dales,

and how great a quantity of corn do they even now produce? How happy indeed would they be, if the goddess of health, by whose ruined temple near these floating islands we are now passing, would shed her gracious influence on them, as one of your young poetical friends here was lately wishing? — Whatever is the occasion of the present dreadful unhealthiness and desolation, yet certainly the *Campania* of *Rome* was antiently full of houses, villages and towns, (tho' always *cæli gravis*) every little spot of this vast *desert* before us had its particular owner, who lived on it, and cultivated it with the utmost industry: what a different scene from the present?

IN the republican times particularly, it was full of a numerous people all following agriculture, all robust, proper for the most useful art in peace, and for the greatest discipline, danger and labour in war.

Aut rastris terram domat, aut quatit oppida bello.

Their continued industrious agriculture in these plains produced first a national simplicity of life, and frugality; and consequently a sure, tho' moderate, support for each family: its still further consequences were still more noble; firmness of mind, liberty, superiority to corruption, contempt of dishonourable or unjust wealth, a sense of generosity, a strong sense of justice, and of religious grati-

gratitude to the givers of the several fruitful seasons of the year.

— *Patiens operum, parvoque assueta Juventus,
Sacra Deum, sanctique patres; extrema per illos
Iustitia excedens terris vestigia fecit.*

But what seems very particular is that the chief senators, consuls, &c. of Rome were themselves thus employed here. These very fields frequently have seen

— *Parvoque potentem
Fabricium; & te sulco, serrane, serentem.*

This very Campania

— *Duros Curiorum est passa ligones.*

(The cottage of *Curius* was situated near that hill, *Monte Portio*, a few miles on our right.) For as the principal men of modern times and states are, besides their public duties, generally called to the duty of a wise and charitable management of an easy or considerable private fortune; so on the other hand, in ancient times (not only here in *Rome*, but in *Greece* and all the oriental countries also) were they frequently called to the duty of bodily rural labour for their support, and sometimes to even that of poverty itself: and surely as many and as noble virtues are to be learnt and practised in one of these conditions as in the other.—In this light I cannot help regarding and revering this *Ager Romanus*: visiting it with this idea, I cannot help recollecting with the greatest

pleasure the speech of *Evander* to *Aeneas*; when, accompanied *cum omnibus juvenum primis & paupere senatu*, he first shewed that pious hero this very country.

*Aude, hospes, contemnere opes, & te quoque dignum
Finge Deo, rebusque veni non asper egenis.*

WHILE the company were engaged in this discourse, the coach stopt at the bridge across the *Anio*, near which is still standing the antient monument of *Plautius*, who is said so nobly to have signalized himself in his government of *Illyria*. After some time past in reading part of the long inscriptions still remaining on that sepulchre, the company sat down on the parapet wall of the bridge, and while the horses were watering, resumed their former conversation.

THERE is not perhaps (said *Crito*, opening a paper on which were some notes for his memory) in all the long history of *Rome*, any thing more striking or instructive than the nobleness of mind, which the antient heroes of this nation shewed in despising wealth, and its attendants, avarice or luxury. For many centuries, the private properties of the principal men of state seldom amounted to so much as twenty acres of land, with a little cottage; which cottage was their only habitation, which little parcel of land they cultivated with their own hands. Nor let us imagine that this was the
case,

case, only in those early ages, when *Rome* itself had but a small territory belonging to its dominion : for it is certain that even so late as the second *Punic* War, when *Fabius Maximus* gave up every thing that he was worth to pay the ransom of some of his countrymen then in captivity, that the whole of the estate of that principal and most respectable person in the *Roman* state, was found to amount to no more than nine acres. Even in still latter times, the whole most noble family of the *Ælii* were all supported on one farm *, and all lived in one house or rather cottage, tho' they were no fewer in number than sixteen, besides their numerous offspring and their wives : one of whom was the daughter of the great *Paulus Æmilius*, and most nearly alied to the families of *Fabius Maximus*, of *Scipio*, and *Cato* the censor.

Privatus illis census erat brevis,

Commune magnum.

But the principal example of *Roman* virtue under such circumstances, is generally and justly supposed to be that of *Curius*.

C U R I U S.

CURIUS had the glory to conquer *Pyrrhus*, that type of *Hannibal*, that most warlike of all the royal successors of *Alexander* the Great (you saw

F 4

his

* *Plutarch's* life of *Paulus Æmilius*.

his colossal statue a few days ago in the *Capitol*) to expel him out of *Italy*, and thus to reduce the whole of this large, this most rich and beautiful part of *Europe*, to the *Roman* dominion: and yet, when the *Roman* senate, in dividing some of the conquered lands, allotted to each of his soldiers, fourteen acres; and to *Curius*, on account of his rank and merit, fifty; he declined the offer, saying, that it was unworthy of a true patriot not to be fully satisfied with the same proportion of property which made so many others of his countrymen so contented and happy.

CURIUS was not only the great example and guardian of this kind of virtue during his whole life; his example had its effect on the minds of the most illustrious *Romans*, many generations after his decease. The great censor in particular, *Cato* the elder, studied it always with due attention, love and reverence; as you will with great pleasure see by the following extract of his life wrote by *Plutarch*.

Των αγρων Κατων (which were situate on *Monte Portio*, that little round hill which we just now saw, standing close under the mountains of *Tusculum*) πλησιον ην η γενομενη Κερεισ επ αυλεις· επι ταυτην συνεχως βαδιζων ο Κατων, και θεωμεν τετε χωρις την μικροτητα, και της οικησεως το λιτον, ευνοϊαν ελαμβανε

βανε τε Ανδρῶ, οτι Ρωμαιων μεγαλῶ γενομενῶ (των
 πασαν Ιταλιαν δη τοτε συστρεψαντων) τυτο το χωριδιον
 Αυτῶ εσχαπτε, και ταυτην την επαυλιον ωκει, Μετα τρεις
 θριαμβους.

THE triumphs indeed of *Curius* presented a spectacle far more rich and pompous, than what *Rome* had ever before seen. In former triumphs, the captives were subjects of some small neighbouring states; the spoils consisted only of the poor plunder of their plain instruments of agriculture or war, horses, cattle, &c. But near *Curius's* triumphal chariot appeared in chains, not only the inhabitants of the most luxurious foreign colonies settled in *Italy*, but many also of the natives of foreign regions (the new invaders of *Italy*) of *Epirus*, of *Thessaly*, and even of the proud *Macedonia* itself, which had so lately carried its victorious arms even to the *Indies*. The spoils were of the richest kind; not only those really noble treasures, the wonders of *Grecian* sculpture and painting, but such also as would most captivate and corrupt the roughest and poorest minds: heaps of silver and gold, and all the ornaments of luxury, which then for the first time made her entrance into the walls of *Rome*.

Sacra canunt, funemque manu contingere gaudent:

Illa subit, mediæque minans illabitur urbi.

O patria!

One

One of this company was from a charitable motive lately thinking to employ one of our countrymen, a student of painting now at *Rome*, in drawing a picture of one of the antient *Roman* triumphs. Why should you not, dear Sir, chuse one of these triumphs of *Curius* for the subject? Especially as it will give your good heart an opportunity to double your benefaction to your poor countryman by employing him to draw for you another picture, as a companion to the first: the scene of *Curius* I mean; when, immediately after all the splendor of these his triumphs, retired with contentment and joy to his former cottage.

—*Hæc limina victor*

Alcides subiit: hæc illum regia cepit.

How pleasing a contrast would the subject of the second picture make to that of the first? The humble furniture of that small habitation; the happy family table, with its earthen dish of turnips, and *Curius* pointing to it with one hand, and with the other rejecting all the rich bribes of the *Sammites*.

O my dear young friends (continued *Crito*) how does the history of *Rome* in these early ages, recall to our memory (while thus seated on these solitary banks of the *Anio*) the description of the antient manners of *Switzerland*, on which we so often used

to

to discourse, while at *Geneva* or *Lausanne*, on the banks of some of the rapid and green, tho' clear streams of those *Alpine* regions? — Of those manners we saw some traces still remaining in the *Upper Valais*, the most romantic country of the *Grisons*; which, with several other circumstances, made us look on that part of the world as a faint shadow of ancient *Italy* and *Greece*. — But may you never forget the sentiments of your own good hearts on that occasion! — May the opulence of your fortunes be always accompanied and crowned with the same contentment and integrity, the same spirit of industry and beneficence, of fortitude and love to your country, which you then saw among the inhabitants of those regions, and which you are now justly so much more admiring in the histories of ancient *Greece* and *Rome*! —

O MY dear young friends, in comparison of this exalted character of mind, how mean do these rich of modern times appear? Those I would mean, who possessed of a property, more than an hundred times larger than what was sufficient to support the family of a *Curius*; a property equal perhaps to the estates of the whole *Roman* senate then put together; (that senate which was both in relation to its real power, and dignity of character so properly called a senate of kings) yet by sloth and foolish extravagance render themselves entirely
useless

useless and contemptible in the world, and so indigent and avaritious, as to stoop for fear of want to every thing that is base and dishonourable.—There is indeed no property so large, as to secure such owners from corruption; nor on the other hand is there in any age or country any station of life so poor, in which industry and frugality will not obtain a power of being honest, content, and even beneficent.—But if you please, while we are slowly ascending these hills which lead to *Tivoli* (this ancient *Grecian* colony, founded by the sons of the just, brave, and religious *Amphiaræus*) I will ask your opinion on another similar *Roman* character: a character, which indeed we have always admired from our infancy, but which will give us fresh pleasure on recollection of it in this country: the character of *Fabrizius*, who perhaps deserves to be considered as the *Phocion* or *Aristides* of *Rome*, in same manner as *Curius* may in some respects be compared to *Epaminondas*.

AMONG the numerous exalted characters, which, during those heroic ages, so nobly adorned these *Roman* territories, there is none which merits greater veneration than that of *Fabrizius*, none which displays a more noble example of wisdom and of preserverance in virtue.

FABRICIUS.

F A B R I C I U S.

FABRICIUS commanded the *Roman* armies in some of the most important wars : the contributions, which he in one year brought into the public treasury from the conquered nations, amounted to the value of near 300,000*l.* sterling ; a most immense sum in those ages ! Yet out of all this vast wealth he reserved to himself only one small wooden instrument for sacrifice.

WHEN the deputies of these nations waited on *Fabricius* with the richest presents, he received them (like another *Curius* or *Cincinnatus*) in his humble cottage : and lifting up his hand by turns to his mouth, to his ears and his eyes, I endeavour, said he, to govern all these appetites ; and as long as I can continue thus virtuous, so long shall I be sure to continue to be secure from all the fears of want, or temptations of riches. Why then should I accept your treasures ? If you can spare them yourselves, bestow them on those, who by sickness or other misfortunes are really in want of some relief.

THE same noble sentiments he retained in all his conferences, whether public or private, with king *Pyrrhus*, declining all the offers of riches and power,
with

with which that sovereign so artfully and delicately attempted to corrupt him.

BUT there is not in his whole heroic life any scene, in which the nobleness of his heart more worthily discovered itself, than in the surprize and indignation which he manifested, when at the royal banquet of *Pyrrhus*, he first heard the wretched *Epicurean* doctrine, that self-indulgence was the principal most worthy object of human life, and that to labour for the public good was but folly. From such false mean-spirited sophistry, he turned away with as noble and majestic a disdain, as as that with which *Hercules* was ever imagined by any poet or painter, turning from the false flattery of vicious pleasure, to his favourite heart-felt joy, the sublime and rapturous eloquence of virtue.

How pleased am I, said *Crito's* pupil, to hear you allude, particularly at this time and place, to that most beloved treatise, the judgment of *Hercules* by *Prodicus*? For having been lately informed that the city of *Tibur*, to which we are now ascending, was dedicated and consecrated in a particular manner to *Hercules*, and that to this day there are still admired here some most august remains of his temple, I have brought with me hither this morning from *Rome* that very treatise: knowing how noble an entertainment it would be to you all, when seated
in

in the portico of the very temple of *Hercules*, to peruse again that short but most sublime work : especially as the concluding paragraph of it seems capable to be so properly applied as a motto to the catalogue of the *Roman* worthies, whose characters *Crito* is now so kindly beginning to recommend to our hearty zealous study, and ardent (though weak) imitation. * Δι' εμε (φησιν Αρετη) Φιλοι μιν θτοις οντες, αγαπητοι δε Φιλοις, τιμιοι δε πατρισιν. Οταν δ' ιλθη το πεπρωμενον τελθ, η μετα ληθης ατιμοι κεινται, αλλα μετα μνημης του αιι χρονου υμνημενοι θαλλουσιν. Τοιαυτα σοι, ω παι τοκεω αγαθω Ηρακλης, εξεστ' διαπονησάμενω την μακαριστοτατην ευδαιμονιαν κερτησθαι. In opening to you that volume in that portico, what pleasure also shall I have in recollecting the most amiable sentiment of *Socrates* expressed in another part of the same volume? † Της θησαυρος των παλαι σοφω ανδρων, ης εκεινοι κατελιπον εν βιβλιοις γραψαντες, ανελιττω, και η συν τοις Φιλοις διερχομαι και αν τι ορωμεν αγαθον, εκλεγομεθα και μεγα νομιζομεν κερθ, εαν αλληλοις Φιλοι γινωμεθα. May I be happy enough, to be permitted to apply this sentiment also, particularly the latter part of it, to our present most happy and joint studies ! — But let us return to *Fabri-*
cius, and pray pardon me for this interruption.

LET me rather not interrupt you in such noble sentiments, replied *Crito* with tears of joy. — Much more

* *Xenophontis Memorabilia*, lib. ii. † *Ibid.* lib. i.

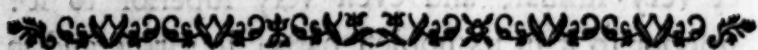
more happiness is it to me, to attend to these sudden overflowings of your good heart, rather than to be myself repeating to you the story of these *Roman* heroisms; all the particulars of which you must recollect, how infinitely better described by the writers of antiquity! Why then should I enlarge on any other of the many noble circumstances of the history of *Fabrizius*? Why should I speak of his military valour, which surely was not inferior to his other virtues; and by which he supported the so often defeated *Roman* armies against their most formidable enemy? Why should I speak of his honour and generosity even to that enemy, particularly in the affair of the *Epirot* physician, in which he seems to have copied and excelled the noble behaviour of the great *Camillus* to the *Falisci*?—No wonder, that *Pyrrhus*, struck with such repeated instances of magnanimity, should cry out on that occasion! O great *Fabrizius*! how superior art thou to all temptations, and to all injuries! It is as impossible for any thing on earth to turn thee from the path of justice and virtue, as it is to turn that great luminary (pointing to the sun) from its daily and eternal course of splendour and beneficence.

GREAT and glorious as this character is, yet, (O my dear countrymen) what a satisfaction is it, to reflect that our *English* history contains a character, which, though not a military one, is

yet

yet very similar, and even very superior to it? Superior to it in its noblest parts; in virtue and in patriotism; in temperance, contempt of wealth, patience, and *even love* of poverty; in integrity unmoved by any ambitious prospect or temptation of honour or power; intrepidity and magnanimity unshaken by all menaces, by all dangers, and even by death itself.

It is needless to mention his name: a name, revered by all *Britons* of all ages and of all sentiments, whether in politics or in religion.—You all know, whom I must necessarily mean; the *Fabritius*, the *Aristides*, the *Phocion* of *England*, *Sir Thomas More*.



C H A P. VI.

SIXTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

SEVERAL hours of the next morning were employed in the villa and gardens of *Adrian*; which spread themselves at the feet of the *Tiburtine* hills, to so great an extent (half a mile in breadth, and three miles in length) and which antiently included, in their numerous and expensive buildings, whatever was most curious either of sculpture or architecture in any of the provinces of the *Roman* empire. From thence this company visited the lofty ruins of the palace of *Mæcenas*, much more elegantly situated, though in other respects greatly inferior to *Adrian's* villa. — In the afternoon they descended from the hill of *Tivoli* into the neighbouring narrow valley; conversing in the way on the characters of those two famous *Romans*, who were both of them in many respects really great men, and authors of much good to their country; as well as the most celebrated patrons, the one of polite literature, the other of many various and elegant arts. But yet from both these examples it was with concern observed, how frequently abundance of riches, (if not constantly directed

directed to their most noble use, the exalted object of beneficence) produces even in persons of great sense, a taste for expensive vanities : degenerating from thence into indolent softness and low pleasures ; and from these sometimes sinking still lower, even into the meanest vices that dishonour human life, and consequently into the meanest thoughts and fears of death. (*Vide reflections on Mæcenas's character, Seneca's epistles, epist. 101.*) What pity indeed was it that *Mæcenas* did not learn something of proper dignity of sentiment on this head from *his own Virgil* ?

Usque adeone mori miserum est ?

FROM the valley of *Tivoli* they ascended the opposite hill, and entered into a thick wood of olives. Here they were led to the small remains of the house of the poet *Quintilius Varus*, the relation of *Virgil*, and intimate friend both of him and of *Horace*.

Ergo Quintilium perpetuus sopor

Urget ! cui pudor & injustitiæ soror

Incorrupta fides, nudaque veritas

Quando ullum invenient parem ?

Multis ille bonis flebilis occidit :

Nulli flebilior quàm tibi, Virgili.

HAVING viewed with pleasure these ruins, (where three such celebrated poets often met) and having walked thro' the olive grove (a grove, said one of the

young gentlemen, as much beloved by the muses, as any of the olive-gardens on the banks of the *Ilissus*) the company were delighted with the near prospect of the hill of *Tivoli*, and of the several beautiful streams which descend in various most picturesque cascades down its sides, amidst the ruins of *Mæcenas's* palace, and those neighbouring fields which once were covered with his gardens. At this view all the young company at once broke out into these lines ;

— *Tiburni lucus, & uda*

Mobilibus pomaria rivis,

Horace was now in the mouth of all the company. Every one was recollecting his favourite passages in that author, and which they imagined might perhaps have been composed in the very walks where they were now treading. *Crito's* pupil took out a pocket *Horace*, and opening at the third book read (while walking on) several stanzas in the beginning of the second and third odes, and in the end of the fifth, in which *Regulus's* fortitude and contempt of pain and death is so celebrated : he was proceeding to the sixth and to some other odes which complain of the degeneracy of those his times, when such luxurious seats were preparing in all parts of *Italy*, for the softest indolence and indulgence, — when he stopt, being surprized (on turning the corner of the hill) at the sudden roar of the great *cata-ract* * of the *Anio*, and the sudden view of the antient majestic temple of *Hercules* ; the river there falling from a great height in one sheet, and then roaring along through a dark and narrow valley, or rather chasm, the depth of which the eye for some time labours to discover ; the temple

* *Præceptis Anio. Hor. lib. 1. ode 7.* — Τιβυρζ μὲν, ἢ το
 Πρακλειον, καὶ ὁ Καταρακτις, οὗ ποταμοῦ πρῶτον ὁ Ἀνίων, ἀφ'
 οὗ μὲν μεγάλη καταπίπτει εἰς φαραγγα βάθυσιν καὶ καταλόν.
 STRABONIS *Geographia*.

ple hanging over it, firmly erected on the summit of bare and rough rocks, and securely looking down on all the precipices, and tumultuous waters at its feet.—How noble a situation (said *Crito's* pupil) for the temple of the patron of labour and fortitude *! And then sitting down on a rock, (which fronted the view of the temple, and through the clefts of which a wild lawrel had forced its hardy branches) he took out again his *Horace*, and read over again the concluding stanzas of the ode on *Regulus*. The conversation of the company turned on that hero; and *Crito* began to recount to them in as short a manner as possible, some of the great and principal parts of his history, concluding with some noble reflections, which he said he had lately met with in consulting some of *St. Austin's* works, relative to the antiquities of *Rome*.

R E G U L U S.

I Intended, said *Crito*, to have asked your opinion in relation to the character of *Regulus*, when on our return to *Rome* we should next have visited that antient inscription in the *Capitol*, (formerly annexed to the *Columna Rostrata*) the only monument remaining of his times, that is, of those of the first *Punic* war. But as the conversation here, has now, as of itself, led us to him; and as you are now so happy in the imagination that it was perhaps on this very spot that *Horace* composed so noble an ode to his memory, we surely can scarce find a more

G 3

proper

* The temple of *Hercules* at *Tivoli* is the same building, which, by mistake, is commonly called the temple of the *Sibylla Tiburtina*. *Palladio* imagined it to be a temple of *Vesta*; it very much resembling, both in shape and size, the beautiful temple of that same goddess on the banks of the *Tiber* at *Rome*. Vid. pag. 188.

proper place and time than this for refreshing our memories by reading some few short notes and extracts from his heroic history. Especially standing, as we now are (according to my dear friend and pupil's observation) in the very front of the temple of the great patron of fortitude; or (as others have rather judged) of *Vesta*, the patroness of fidelity to oaths and all solemn promises.

REGULUS lived at a time, when the power of *Rome* was risen to a great height, when she was sovereign of *Italy*, and successfully struggling with *Carthage* for the dominion of all the neighbouring islands and seas. — As consul, he commanded that vast *Roman* fleet, which had on board near five times the number of soldiers and mariners which filled the so famous *Spanish* armada *. With this fleet, he attacked the *Carthaginians*, who were superior both in number and skill: he defeated them,

* This account is founded on a comparison of the histories of *Polybius* and *Thuanus*. By the former of these it appears, that the number of persons embarked in the *Roman* fleet amounted to one hundred and forty thousand.

Τὸ μὲν συντεταγμένον Ῥωμαίων ναυτικῆς δυνάμεως περὶ τετραρὰς ἢ καὶ δεκά μυριάδας — τῶν δὲ Καρχηδονίων ὑπερῷον καὶ δεκά μυριάδας. POLYB. lib. 1.

In comparison with this, how small does the *Spanish* Armada appear? *In summa, numerus nautarum fuit octo millia, militum viginti millia, præter nobiles ac spontaneos.* — THUANUS, lib. 89. cap. 8. — *Strype's* account of the whole together (including soldiers, sailors, galley-slaves, &c. &c.) amounts only to 29,839 men. — STRYPE, vol. 3. Append: pag. 221 and 222.

them, and then disembarking on their coasts, he defeated their land forces also; made himself master of two hundred of their towns, and of two hundred thousand captives: thus reducing *Carthage* to the brink of ruin, and almost completing the conquest of that rich and extensive region of *Africa*.

IN the midst of all this success and power, he shewed himself (in some particulars at least) still superior to all this flow of fortune. In the midst of this so high exaltation, he petitioned the *Roman* senate for leave to return home, giving this humble and most amiable reason for that his request; viz. Because during his long absence, his private estate, which was not more than fourteen acres of land, (so small was the property, with which so great and powerful a commander was contented) lay neglected and uncultivated, and his wife and children, who had no other support, were thus reduced to great distress. The *Roman* senate answered this petition according to the same spirit of those times; not bestowing on him any of the conquered cities or provinces; nor even any part of the contributions raised on that opulent country; but only assuring him (as a sufficient encouragement for one who laboured only for the service and defence of his country) that if he would continue his labours for the public, his family should be supported, and his little field cultivated at the public charge.

IF *Regulus* could thus behave in the height of victory and power, he certainly behaved still more nobly, when in the sharpest trials of adversity. For fortune changing, according to her usual inconstancy, —— but let me not trouble you (continued *Crito*, laying down his paper of notes) with the tedious repetition of so noted a story, as that of the captivity and death of this great man: let us rather employ our minds in duly reflecting on his example, in thus supporting, though to his utmost personal danger, the interest of his country; and in thus obeying, even to death, the strictest laws of honour and justice. How voluntarily indeed did he resign himself again into his enemies hands? With what resolution did he take leave of his friends and country for ever? With what composure of mind did he set sail for *Afric* to meet the tortures and death which that cruel nation was preparing for him?

*Sciebat, quæ sibi barbarus
Tortor pararet.*

Most cruel indeed and inhuman is generally said to have been that scene: but yet it may, like all other scenes of that nature, be to us one of the strongest lessons. — *Vix ulla contra dolorem ac mortem fortior disciplina.* — O my dear young friends, you are entering into a world, which you will find full of encomiums, on fortitude, on the love of justice, and

and on the love of our country. May it be your endeavours οὕτως πολιτευεσθαι ΕΡΓΩ καὶ λόγῳ! Παιδομενὸν ἡμῖν τοῖς σοῖς τροφεύσι, μὴτε τὸ ζῆν περὶ πλείονος ποιεῖν, μὴτε ἄλλο μὴδὲν πρὸ τῆς δίκαιης. Ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰ ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ τοῦ βίου σε οὕτως τελευτᾶν, γενοίτο Τυχὴ ἀγαθὴ. Εἰ ταύτῃ τοῖς θεοῖς φίλον, ταύτῃ ἐσώ. Surely your life cannot in any manner be more gloriously concluded :

— *Quin ego non alio digner te funere Palla !*

Happy is it, that there is indeed no pain either of body or mind, but what may be supported and overcome by resolution, when assisted by habit and example ! Happy are *those young men*, who, in preparing themselves for the labours of this life, (where sometimes, though indeed seldom, virtue is engaged in such circumstances of the severest trials, and consequently of the greatest splendor) have their breasts thus steeled with fortitude ! But most happy are those, who are properly instructed, how to direct this intrepidity to the most noble purposes ; particularly, like *Regulus*, to the service of our country, and to the support of the cause of justice ; and how to temper it continually (like the *contemporary* of *Regulus*, the youthful *Spartan Agis*) with the greatest humanity, and with the sweetest benevolence, even to the last breath.

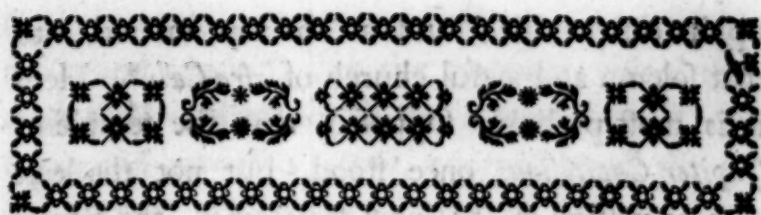
ON

* * *

ON concluding this period of the *Roman* history, it may not be improper to make something of the following observation, viz. That however great and splendid the virtues were of these *Roman* characters; yet there are some very great objections to the history of that nation in general, and in particular to this part of it. I mean *illam perpetuam bellorum stragem*; excepting only the blessed reign of *Numa*, every page of its history, how deeply is it stained, and indelibly blotted with blood? How much indeed is it to be wished, that among all that tedious and endless series of battles and sieges, of captivities, triumphs, and massacres; and of all the scenes of misery and wickedness, in which *Rome* was continually involving itself, and so many other nations; how much is it to be wished, that the spirit of *Numa* had, according to the poetic idea of *Plutarch*, now and then interposed, breathing its blessed influence over that city, like some gentle and salubrious breeze, exhaling from his *Egerian* grot, or from his sepulchre on the *Janiculan* hill? How much more amiable and instructive would the history of the heroes of *Rome* then have appeared? With such a mixture of peaceful actions, how much more sublime and awful would have been their fortitude and magnanimity? How much more beautiful and consistent their domestic honesty, contentment, and piety? — But, even as it is,
the

the lives of these *Roman* heroes may prove a very useful study to us. For, if in the midst of the darkness and misery of those ages, such virtues could arise, can we forget, how much is to be expected from us? We live in better times, in times of much more knowledge and benevolence. From our youth we are instructed in a religion, breathing the most exalted fortitude peculiarly united to the sweetest mercy; and inspiring us with the truest spirit of genuine piety, (a piety how inexpressibly and infinitely superior to that of *Numa*?) and with all the heavenly virtues, and works of peace which flow from it. What noble examples does the history of Christianity shew forth to us, teaching us (much more strongly than the examples of a *Brutus* and *Fabricius*) to persevere in what is right, and to be immovable by all temptations, by all perils? To bear a life of labour and poverty with more perfect contentment and real humility, than ever *Curius* did. To meet as willingly as *Regulus* the severest torments and pains of death rather than part with our integrity: to endeavour to be doing good, like *Publicola*, as long as we have life: to be doing good, like *Camillus*, even to the ungrateful, and at last joyfully to devote ourselves to death, not, like the *Decii*, for our friends and country only, but also for our enemies.

END of Book the FIRST.



HISTORICAL EXERCISES:

Being some of the

PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS

IN THE

ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK II.

CHAPTER I.

SEVENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

 HE beginning of the following week the company returned to *Rome*, and immediately resumed their happy employment. Their first visit was again to the *Capitol*: they ascended the noble antient staircase of an hundred steps of marble, which leads up

up its eastern side ; and at the top entered into that solemn and awful church of *Ara Cæli* *. Here it is most probably supposed, that the temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* once stood, but not the least ruin or vestige of it is now remaining ; the *Roman* architects and antiquarians are not even thoroughly agreed, whether it was on this or on the western summit of the *Capitoline* hill, that that most superb and splendid edifice was erected.

How properly then, at the entrance of the present church, might be placed that inscription, which some *Arabians* have engraved on the still more magnificent stair-case of the ruined temple and palace of *Darius* at *Persepolis* † ?

*Every thing shall pass away and vanish : —
— God alone shall endure for ever.*

WHAT *Rome* once was may be judged from the neighbouring museum on the eastern side of the
Capitoline

* This stair-case, though antient in itself, was placed here in modern times, being removed hither from before the temple of *Quirinus* on the *Quirinal* hill. It is very steep, and ascends in a straight line without any turning, and scarce any landing place ; the steps are high, and each in length 47 feet. The church itself of *Ara Cæli* is adorned with a great number of antient columns, (formerly belonging to some temples or senate-houses on this *Capitoline* hill) the gilding of the capitals of which is still in some degree fresh. It is at present a convent of barefoot friars. What a change both in the place and its inhabitants !

† Vid. *Le Bruyn's Travels*.

* Vid.
Mr. Ruffe

Capitoline area. It was not indeed without admiration and concern, that the company visited that most noble collection of the monuments of the riches and power of *Rome*, adorned by all the art and science, genius and industry of *Greece*. This most pleasing melancholy was agreeably indulged in the first apartment of this museum, which they found full of sepulchral most elegant sculptures; and inscriptions not less elegant, breathing the most affecting, conjugal, parental, and filial sorrow*.

BUT the view of the following apartments in part dispelled it; for while they saw there all around them so many excellent representations of so many wise, great, and good men, whose memory is immortal, they could not but imagine to themselves that they had the happiness and honour of being admitted into an apartment full of such exalted company, all still alive.—Among these, in the second apartment, they found the bust of *Miltiades*: and in the neighbouring gallery, that of *P. Cornelius Scipio*.

WHILE they were regarding this last with the greatest reverence, *Crito* took that opportunity of reminding them, that there was no place which
could

* Vid. the two inscriptions in this chamber, as printed by Mr. *Ruffel*, the *English* antiquarian at *Rome*. *Painter's Letters*.

could more properly than this be looked upon as the true theatre of the glory of that the most glorious character of the *Roman* history; that where they now stood, was no other than the *Capitol* itself: *illa majestatis Romanæ sedes*, in the defence of which, that hero, before whose image they now stood, had so often shed his blood: labouring in its cause (the cause of his country) from his tenderest age, and in the times of the most public distress by his noble spirit reclaiming those young *Romans*, his companions, who in the depth of despair were thinking to abandon it.

THAT the small valley on which they looked down from the end of this gallery, was no other than the *Forum Romanum*, where *Scipio* in such early years of his life so generously accepted the desperate service of his country in *Spain*.

THAT the ascending slope to their right was the *Via Triumphalis*, along which *Scipio* solemnly proceeded in his great triumph, after having by the most glorious victories delivered his country from all the perils of the long and great war of *Hannibal*, and secured it not less gloriously by a peace, merciful and benevolent even to *Carthage*.

THAT around this place were the senate houses, in which he poured forth those noble sentiments on
his

his return from the delivery of *Spain*, and in which, after his complete and most glorious conquest of *Afric*, he offered to serve his country again, even in an inferior station, under his brother, as a lieutenant in the *Asiatic* war.

THAT above all, on this very hill, and most probably on this very spot, was that temple, where, during his whole life, he had set his countrymen the *daily* example of most constantly, and most humbly adoring heaven, and where he, after his death, himself was so justly, peculiarly, and most eminently honoured by them.

Dis te minorem quod geris, imperas.

IN conversing thus, *Crito* walked on a little further with his young friends, and then sat down at the feet of a most beautiful statue, representing the god *Juventus*, or the genius of youth.

GREAT truth (said he) is there in that common observation, that every thing depends on the manner in which it is begun. If you are desirous of being great and good in your lives, you must labour to begin to be so in your youth. *Scipio's* whole life was almost one continued series of noble actions: yet is there no part in it more worthy our imitation, than the beginning: he begun indeed

his course of glory with the most illustrious virtues, and rose upon the world with all the splendor and majesty of a *Guido's Aurora* *.

SCIPIO AFRICANUS.

AT *seventeen* years of age he greatly distinguished himself by that filial piety, which was so nobly hereditary in his family: for, as you all know, *Publius*, master of the horse to the great *Camillus*, was the first who acquired to his descendants the name of *Scipio*, by being the kind support and staff (*Scipio*) of his dear father, then sinking under the misfortune of blindness, joined to the weakness of old age. This noble character of his family was greatly heightened and exalted by the hero now before us: he had indeed the great glory and happiness of saving *even the life* of his parent. For in the unfortunate battle on the banks of the *Ticinus*, when his father was left by his soldiers, alone and wounded, in the midst of the troops of *Hannibal*, young *Scipio* bravely rushed forwards, in that urgent distress, at the utmost hazard of his own life, & *genitor nati parmâ protectus abibat*. With what pleasure did you, a few days past, (when in the

* This celebrated painting is preserved in the *Rospigliosi* palace on the *Quirinal* hill in *Rome*.

the *Palazzo Albani* here at *Rome*) view a bust of this noble hero, the forehead of which is crowned by the scars acquired in this most glorious action? With what reverence did you, in your journey through *Lombardy*, visit that field of battle, and there recollect those lines of *Silius Italicus*?

———— *Pietasque insignis & ætas*
Belligeris fecit miranda silentia campis.
Tum celfo e curru mavors; Carthaginis arces
Exscindes, inquit, Tyriosque, in fœdera coges:
Nulla tamèn longo tanta exorietur in ævo
Lux tibi, chare puer! Macte o! Macte indole sacrâ
Vera Jovis proles! & adhuc majora supersunt,
Sed nequeunt meliora dari. ——— Lib. iv.

AT the age of *nineteen* he saved his country from a calamity, which, among all the misfortunes which then so afflicted the republic, would have been the most dishonourable and most fatal to it. He was at that time one of the legionary tribunes at the bloody battle of *Cannæ*. Scarce was that dismal day concluded, when *Scipio*, who in valour as well as goodness far surpassed all the young *Romans* even of those times, in the midst of this public distress and despair,—But let me not trouble you with the repetition of a story, which you all recollect so nobly related in *Livy*, and other antient writers.

How noble a subject would that night-scene make for a painting in the present picture-gallery on this *Capitoline* hill? This favourite hill, which the noble genius of youth (even in the times of *Tarquin*) could never be induced to abandon. — Scarce ever do I read that story, (of young *Scipio*) without recollecting the similar night-scene in the *Anabasis*, (when the young *Xenophon* so nobly exerted himself, after the total defeat of the allied army of *Cyrus*, and the slaughter of all the *Grecian* commanders) and of that other night-scene in the *Æneid*, when, in such public distress, the bravery of the young *Euryalus* was so admired by the oldest *Trojan* heroes.

*Hic annis gravis, atque animi maturus Aletbes :
Dī patrii, quorum semper sub numine Troja est !
Non tamen omnino Teucros delere paratis
Cum tales animos juvenum, & tam certa tulistis
Pectora. —*

AT *three and twenty* years of age, *Scipio* was executing his office of *Ædile* in *Rome*, when the dismal news arrived here from *Spain*, that all the *Roman* armies in that country were defeated, and both their generals (*Scipio's* uncle and father) killed. The *Romans* assembled to chuse a proconsul to succeed them, (the assembly was held in that *Forum*, part of which we see from this window) but

no candidate appeared for this most dangerous office: the people looked in vain on the senators: the senators and generals looked in vain one on each other. No one, in all that noble and numerous assembly, offered himself for the service of his country. A general silence: a general despondency: — young *Scipio* then arose, (cannot you fancy to yourselves that you now see him there?) he arose, and offered to follow the footsteps of his father, though leading to such labours, dangers, and death.

Nor was this all; for (as soon as the universal acclamation of the whole assembly could permit it) he shewed to the magistrates as well as people, by his manner of speaking, that he had not only the spirit to offer himself for that dangerous and important office, but that he had also by his study and application (which he had so exemplarily continued without remission from his earliest youth) rendered himself capable of executing it in the best and fullest manner.

Αρχινος γὰρ, καὶ νηπτις ἦν, καὶ πρὸς τὰ
Προτιθεμενὰ αἰεὶ ἐντεταμένους τῇ διανοίᾳ.

CRITO was proceeding, when (some other persons coming into that apartment of the *Museum*) the conversation was interrupted, and the company obliged

obliged to retire to a smaller room on the right hand of the entrance of the gallery. This room, besides the many other curiosities with which it is adorned, contains a great number of antient busts, which are indeed valuable for their sculpture, but it is to be much regretted that it is not known, who were the particular persons of antiquity represented by many of them. It is remarkable, that among these *teste incognite* there is one which is very striking to all *Englishmen*, being said to be a very strong resemblance of general *Wolf*. It was with great pleasure, that the young gentlemen first gave their attention to this: when *Crito* observed that in the wars between *Rome* and *Carthage*, *Spain* might be considered in something of the same light as *America* in the wars between *France* and *England*: nor was *Scipio's* conduct in *Spain* unlike that of this almost equally youthful *British* hero in *America*. How low soever the *Roman* affairs in that province were reduced, when *Scipio* landed, yet he lost not his spirit, but to the general astonishment immediately carried the war to the gates of the enemies capital in that country, and by the reduction of it, began his life of a general in the same manner and in the same glory, with which that of this *British* worthy was concluded and crowned. But if (continued *Crito*, leaning on the *Grecian* bronze urn in the middle of that room, antiently consecrated to the use of the temple of *Delos*) if *Scipio* may be
confi-

considered as a pattern to the heroes of such distant generations, it is still more useful to remark, how diligently he himself imitated the example of the worthies of former ages. The whole of his glorious conduct in *Spain*, his industry and fortitude, prudence and *temperance*, generosity and liberality, and above all, his great goodness to his own soldiers, and to the unhappy captives, are an exact transcript of the noble military virtues, recommended in the works of *Xenophon*; a surprizingly exact copy of the character there drawn of *Cyrus the Great*.

SCIPIO himself seems to have alluded to this noble circumstance, (not without exultation of heart) in that speech, which he made here in the senate, on his glorious return from *Spain*. It is (said he) the constant duty and practice of all great and worthy minds, to be continually studying and imitating the examples, not only of the illustrious and virtuous men of their own countries and times, but those also of all nations and of all preceeding ages.

By this means he indeed gradually rose far above the glory of any other *Roman* character; as is particularly remarkable in two circumstances. The first, that in all his labours his aim was not to encrease his own *greatness*, but only to have the pleasure and honour of performing *great services*

to his country. This nobleness of intention surely ought to strike us with much more awe than all the other grandeur of his abilities and achievements. The second, that he was blessed not only with a patriotic but with a *merciful* temper of mind, which was far superior to the other contemporary *Romans*; and which many ages afterwards was justly so admired by the then wisest and greatest of men of this nation. *Antoninus Pius Scipionis sententiam frequentabat, quâ ille dicebat, malle se unum civem servare, quàm mille hostes occidere.* In how amiable a light does this sentiment place all the labours of *Scipio* in that dreadful war, in which *Italy* suffered such misery during the sixteen years ravages of *Hannibal*, and in which *Rome* itself was frequently reduced to the most extreme danger of falling under the servitude of the cruel and perfidious *Carthaginian* nation? *Scipio* was the protector and deliverer of his country from all this misery and peril; first by his spirit and industry during the continuance of the war; and then by his benevolence and mercy (even to the enemy) in concluding it and procuring so secure a peace. But his labours in so nobly concluding this great war (the greatest of any in which *Rome* was ever engaged) are so well known, that it would be needless to trouble you with any repetition of them.

THE

THE last military scene, in which *Scipio* appeared, was that famous war with *Antiochus*, the most powerful king of all *Asia*. In this new scene of glory, how did the great *Scipio*, the renowned deliverer of *Italy* and conqueror of *Spain* and *Afric*, then appear? Far superior to all the *pride* of past victories and triumphs, he voluntarily condescended to the inferior character of a lieutenant, and served under his brother. Thus (instead of insatiably seeking more honour for himself) assisting his brother in the acquisition of as much renown from *Asia*, as he himself had returned with from *Afric*. There is scarce indeed in the whole history of the *Scipios* a more pleasing part, than this scene of fraternal affection: *Scipio Africanus*, in his early years, had most affectionately and nobly assisted his brother in his first advancement to the public honours and offices of the state. *Scipio Asiaticus* returned this kindness by serving faithfully and diligently under him in all the great and long *Carthaginian* war. But how nobly did *Africanus* by this his humble behaviour in *Asia*, crown the whole of this benevolent contention of fraternal love? — How amiable is this picture of these two great men thus without envy mutually and alternately supporting each other in all their prosperity and success: nor did they separate from each other, when called to suffer the sharpest adversity; but were in all things, both in life and death, united with as much endless

less love as the two famous brother-deities Θεοὶ Σωτῆρες Ἑλλάδος, *Castor* and *Pollux*, whose colossal statues so nobly now adorn the principal ascent from the streets of *Rome* up to this *Capitol*, standing one on the right, the other on the left of that noble approach; and which two statues may also perhaps be considered as not unworthy emblems of these two brother heroes, of the *Scipio* family, who so greatly exalted the grandeur of this place by subjecting the most powerful states both of *Asia* and *Afric* to its dominion.

THE company now rose from their seats in the *Museum*, and with this idea visited those two neighbouring *Colossi*: after having for some time admired them, together with the most magnificent antient trophies which are erected close adjoining, *Crito* (leaning on the stone balustrade, and looking down towards *Monte Citorio*, that part of the *Campus Martius* where the *Comitia* of the people were antiently held, and where some of the principal tribunals of *Rome* are to this day situated) he paused a short time, and then proceeded as follows.

THE splendor of *Scipio's* actions in so many regions of *Europe*, *Asia*, and *Afric*, though united together, is not equal to the real glory and merit of his conduct here at home. On his return home
from

• Sc
public o
to the l
resolutio
account
were se
ther of
there a
have be

from all these his foreign labours, the *Romans* (as long as the tide of their popular favour and gratitude lasted) were perpetually heaping on him all possible honours: they were even intending to create him perpetual consul and dictator. But *Scipio* (whose ardent desire it always was, not so much to acquire, as to merit the greatest honours) instead of encouraging, utterly checked the multitude in this their design: not suffering them to exalt him to a station which was incompatible with the liberty of his country, as well as with the moderation of his own republican character: thus shewing a generosity of mind, as well as wisdom, how far superior to those boasted qualities of *Julius Caesar*?—Nor did he behave less nobly when the popular favour to him gradually changed from admiration turning into envy, and from envy rankling into malevolence and hatred. For to the great dishonour of the history of *Rome*, even the *Scipios* were persecuted by their countrymen. Scarce ever was there a scene of greater ingratitude, nor (as the event plainly proved) of greater injustice*.

SCIPIO

* *Scipio Asiaticus* was condemned for having defrauded the public of more than 30,000 *l.* in the *Asiatic* war. He persisted to the last in his innocence, standing his trial with the greatest resolution, refusing to give bail, and still insisting, that he had accounted for all that he had received. And when his effects were seized and appraised, they were not found to be all together of value sufficient to answer the sum in question; nor was there any thing among his effects which could be deemed to have been brought from *Asia*.

SCIPIO Africanus behaved in this new scene with the most noble courage and spirit, such as might be expected from such a man, conscious of all the innocence and of all the dignity of his past life. He then (least a further contest of parties on his account might be prejudicial to his country, out of regard to her) took leave of this city for ever. With the greatest magnanimity, constancy, and patience, he went into a kind of voluntary banishment. His retirement at *Linternum* near *Cuma*, was revered many centuries after his death. *In ipsâ Scipionis villâ* (says one of the wisest philosophic writers, which *Rome* ever produced) *hæc scribo; adoratis manibus ejus & sepulchro: animum quidem ejus in cælum, ex quo erat, redisse persuadeo mihi; ob egregiam moderationem pietatemque, magis in illo admirabilem cum reliquit patriam, quàm cum defendit.*

IN this rural retreat (we shall have the pleasure of seeing it in our journey to *Naples*) *Scipio* passed not the remainder of his days in despondence, nor did he, on the other hand, think of such a slothful and mean conclusion of his life, as *Lucullus*. He employed himself in that which is eternally and universally the most useful of all arts, and which was so particularly respectable in those antient times of wisdom; the art and science of agriculture. *Laboribus rusticis sese exercebat, terramque (ut mos fuit prisca) ipse subigebat.*

HIS

HIS other hours were passed in the conversation of the most polite and learned men of the age; particularly *Ennius*. This first poet of *Rome* was continually partaking of *Scipio's* favour and friendship during his life; he also had the particular honour of sharing his tomb with him. For *Ennius* has had, now for many ages, the honour of reposing between the ashes of these two great brothers in the same sepulchre* on the *Appian* way, (you never passed by it, without due reverential thoughts) near the grotto of *Numa*, and the temple dedicated by that glorious sovereign of *Rome* to *Silence* and the *Muses*.

BUT if you please, let us conclude this morning in the same place, where we so happily began it. Let us now make another short visit to this adjoining church of *Ara Cæli*; and there, sitting at the feet of one of those antient columns, against which perhaps the great *Scipio* himself has often leaned, let us duly reflect on that which was the greatest employment of *Scipio's* time, and of which such particular notice is taken by all his historians.

I MEAN his piety and devotion; that most noble exercise, and (when rightly directed) that most exalted

* Around the top of this sepulchre, which was originally very lofty, are still to this day to be seen three great niches, in which antiently stood the statues of these two *Scipios*, and between them that of the poet *Ennius*.

exalted use of the best faculties of the human mind.

It is remarked of him, that from his earliest youth he made it his daily and never neglected rule, to begin every morning with some holy retirement and meditation; and that chiefly *in this very place*.

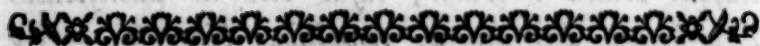
THIS method (though it may at first perhaps appear to some persons but a small circumstance in the splendid history of such an hero) yet seems indeed to have been the real secret, the original spring of all the dignity and glory of his life. This method gave constantly a rule, a meaning, a nobleness, a life, zeal, spirit, and activity to the actions of the remainder of each day: this method renewed and strengthened continually all his virtues, both in prosperity and in adversity; and drew down on him (I hope I am not too presumptuous in what I say) the divine favour every day still more and more abundantly. For as at other times he was constantly studying or imitating the greatest and best human examples; so in these more awful hours, he lifted up his mind (as much as the great darkness of that age would permit) to the contemplation of the divine perfections, raising himself above the utmost heights of mortal greatness, and making the nearest approach (which paganism would allow) to the divine nature itself.

SCIPIO

SCIPIO is called by St. *Austin*, *Ille patriæ totiusque Italiæ liberator, cujus vita ab adolescentiâ describitur, diis dedita, templisque innutrita.* — By all his historians he is constantly represented as beginning and ending every great work with devotion, with that attention to the Deity, which (though, like all other virtues, it always produces the more good, in proportion as it is attended with more true knowledge, yet) in its own nature is, and must eternally be, the surest and greatest source of good and noble actions.

In reverence of this principal part of his glorious character, as well as in grateful memory of the other parts of it, his statue stood *alone*. It was the only one of any mortal representation, which was suffered to stand in the most sacred recess of the most solemn temple of antient *Rome*, close even to the altar of the greatest deities in this *Capitol*.

CHAP.



CHAP. II.

EIGHTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

THE subject of the last conversation had so thoroughly engaged the hearts of all the young company, that for several days they could not turn their thoughts on any other part of the *Roman* story, than the great and glorious character of *Scipio*, and the exalted heroism of his times. According to their different turn of genius, one of the young gentlemen recollected with pleasure several passages in the works of the antient poets, which relate to this subject; another recollected those of the orators, the third those of the philosophers and historians.

STILL more to indulge these thoughts, on one day the company revisited the sepulchre of *Scipio* and *Ennius*; on the next, they passed several hours in surveying the banks and *Salarian* bridge of the *Anio*, and the fields between that stream and the *Colline* gate, the place where *Hannibal* advanced even to the walls of *Rome*. On the third day with the same intention they rode to *Algidum*, near which

which town is a place still famous for the tradition of its having once been the identical spot of the camp of that great *Carthaginian*.

THE town of *Algidum* (now called *Rocca del Papa*) stands on a rock, about sixteen miles distant from *Rome*; half way up the steep and woody northern side of the great *Alban* mountain. Just above this town, is a green semicircular plain, from whence *Hannibal* is said to have for several days looked down on *Rome*, and on all the *Campania* of *Latium*.

FROM this plain an antient paved road (better preserved perhaps than any other in *Italy*) winds up to the highest summit of the mountain; where are still to be seen the foundations and some small remains of the so celebrated temple of *Jupiter Albanus*.

HAVING surveyed the plain of *Algidum*, the company ascended by this road to the top of the hill; and there alighted to examine the venerable antiquities of the place, and admire from it that spacious prospect of mountains and plains which there opens itself, adorned by so many lakes, and by such an extensive view of the *Mediterranean* sea.

AFTER having sat for some time in conversation on these subjects, *Crito* had the great satisfaction to

be informed by his pupil, that for several days past his two young friends and himself had been employing their leisure hours in endeavouring to draw up some very short characters of two or three of the contemporary heroes of *Scipio*: that each of them had chose his particular hero, and that they had now brought their papers with them hither, in order to submit them here to *Crito's* correction, as in a place equally romantic, though far more retired, than any of the gardens of the assemblies of the *Arcades* or *Quirini**.

CRITO expressing great pleasure on this occasion, one of the young gentlemen rose up, and turning his eyes, sometimes towards the neighbouring camp of *Hannibal*, sometimes towards *Rome*, (the *Campania* of which must antiently have made so magnificent an appearance in the vast prospect from this lofty situation) he broke out in those lines of the *Roman* poet,

— *Pro quâ pugnabitur urbe, &c.*

FABIUS

* *Vid.* page xii. the note at the end of the introduction to the first book.

FABIUS MAXIMUS.

SURELY, in all the long history of *Rome*, there is not any scene more noble, than that of the great spirit shewn by so many *Roman* heroes in defence of this their country, while the dreadful storm of the *Punic* war hung on these hills, and ravaged these plains, threatening utter destruction to that their glorious city: and surely, among all those heroes, there is not one, who better deserves to be ranked immediately after *Scipio*, than *Fabius Maximus*.

THE character indeed of the great mind of *Fabius*, seems to convey the idea of the truest heroism: being the spirit of valour and fortitude in the highest degree, governed always, and frequently covered by other still superior virtues; in the same manner, as (to quote an observation of my friend who is to speak next) in the antique statues at *Rome*, particularly in those of *Apollo*, we frequently have seen the greatest expression of strength, covered by the greatest beauty.

WE find this to have been remarkably the case, even in his earliest youth. Though full of so noble a spirit, yet we find him even then happily and wisely chusing to shine in other still nobler qualities,

in the greatest industry in all his studies and exercises both of body and mind; and in the most remarkable sweetness and *lamb-like meekness of temper to all his companions.

As he grew up, we find the same spirit always under the government of prudence and wisdom. Whenever the public service would allow it, then indeed he always shewed the most ardent courage; accepting the government in the most dangerous times; fronting *Hannibal* in the field of battle with the greatest intrepidity; and in that universal dejection after the defeat and slaughter at *Cannæ*, being almost the only *Roman* who shewed no symptom of fear. At other times, which, though more prosperous, yet required more prudence and caution, he then reined in his own daring spirit, as well as that of his countrymen: with the most invincible patience he bore their murmurs, and willingly for their sakes suffered them to brand him even with the name of coward; (according to that noble maxim, "You are welcome to abuse me; only permit me to labour to be of service to you.") He was calm and immoveable by these clamours and accusations of his most violent rivals, and afterwards with the greatest magnanimity and courage

* It was from this happy temper of mind that he is particularly said to have acquired the name of *Ovicula*, or the Lamb.

he saved the lives and protected the reputations of those very men. His generosity indeed first to *Minutius*, (which converted his heart) and afterwards to *Varro*, can scarce be too much studied and admired.

THOUGH he took great care to fill the troops under his command, with all the true *Roman* spirit and courage; yet he took still greater care to instruct them, that valour would be of no use without the favour of heaven; which to obtain was their first duty; and after the obtaining of which, no enemy was to be feared.

THOUGH he supported with the greatest dignity his authority as a general, and with still greater awfulness his supreme office of dictator; yet his heart melted at the hardships even of the most common soldiers, and with joy did he sell his whole private property to ransom those in captivity from the hands of their cruel enemies.

You will gladly, I am sure, excuse me, said *Crito*, if I for a moment interrupt you, only to observe, that a descendant of *Fabius Maximus*, a *Roman* matron named *Fabiola*, who lived many ages after his times, shewed in a most remarkable manner the same generosity of spirit, which thus warmed the heart of this her great ancestor;

having during her life time given up every thing that she possessed, (and her family estate at that time was very great) entirely to the relief of the poor and afflicted. It is also very observable, that this same *Roman* matron was * *the first person who ever erected an hospital for the sick*: and that thus the first example of all those most charitable institutions (which are at present such blessings to such numbers of the inhabitants of *Europe, Asia, Afric, and America*) was given to the world by the house of *Fabius*. But pray proceed.

THE same excellent moderation of temper *Fabius* shewed on a still more trying occasion, when his son was cut off in the flower of his age, and height of his promotion. *Fabius* attended the urn of this his beloved son to the grave, with all the magnanimity of the most undaunted *Roman* hero, yet at the same time condescending not a little to moderate and sweeten this his fortitude by many marks of the most paternal affection and piety. He himself spoke the funeral oration, which was preserved to the times of *Plutarch*; and was then greatly admired, as full of weight of sense, and strength of eloquence, (such as that of the funeral orations in *Thucydides*) and as exactly corresponding and suiting to the character of the speaker.

PERHAPS

* Vid. Life of *Fabiola* wrote by St. *Jerom*. N. B. The family of *Fabius Maximus* is said to be still to this day subsisting at *Rome*, and still preserving the antient name of *Massimi*.

PERHAPS there is no part of the *Roman* literature, the loss of which deserves to be more regretted, than that of a well-chosen collection of the funeral orations on the principal men of this state. Happy, if this speech of *Fabius* on his son, and that on *Fabius* himself, (who soon after was so honourably interred at the public charge, as the common father of the nation) had been found among the manuscripts lately discovered at *Herculaneum*! in such a case, with what happiness should I now have here read it to you, instead of thus myself presuming to trouble you with so imperfect a sketch of a character deserving the noblest pen?

WITH what energy indeed would a true orator dwell on the many glorious parts of the life of this hero? With what splendor of eloquence would he in particular describe him as joined with *Marcellus* in the direction of the counsels, and command of the armies of his country; and *Rome* thus appearing in the greatest majesty, armed, like *Minerva*, with such a sword, and with such an *Aegis*.

BUT with what delicacy and concern for the frailties of the noblest characters of humanity, would he endeavour to drop a veil on the unfortunate severity of the siege of *Tarentum*, and on the unhappy jealousy of *Africanus*?

MAY those unworthy parts of the history of *Fabius* be indeed buried in perpetual oblivion! And may his virtues, unsullied by such a mixture, be for ever honoured and imitated by us! Particularly those two virtues, which by *Polybius* are esteemed the two real sources of all the greatness of *Rome*, and in each of which *Fabius* was so eminent: I mean, unshaken constancy in the heaviest adversity, and prudent moderation, when in a more prosperous state.

LET us then with joy join our encomiums on his memory to our admiration of that of the great *Scipio*! For though the glory of *Scipio* indeed far outshines that of all his contemporary heroes, as far as that of his patron *Jupiter* (to whom was dedicated this temple, where we now stand) was supposed to excel that of all the other heathen deities; yet, as notwithstanding this pre-eminence of *Jupiter*, altars and temples were erected to *Neptune*, (as on that neighbouring sea-coast) to *Hercules*, (as on those neighbouring mountains of *Tivoli*) to *Apollo*, (as on that distant hill of *Soracte*) to *Diana*, (as in these very forests of *Algidum*) so without doubt, notwithstanding the pre-eminence of *Scipio*, great and abundant honours ought always to be paid by us to the memory of many other contemporary *Roman* heroes, particularly to *Fabius*, and to the friends of *Fabius*, *Marcellus* and

and *Paulus*; especially at this time, while the prospect of this country, in which they all inhabited, and for which they all shed their blood, is so widely and so magnificently now spread before our view.

* * *

LITTLE did I ever imagine, said the second young gentleman, now rising from his seat, that, during my stay at *Rome*, I should have been honoured by such an employment as this: my abilities being very unequal to it, and my attention, since my arrival in this antient capital of the world, having been given to the history, not of its virtues, but of its arts and sciences, (a pleasing surely and noble subject, however inferior to the first) and particularly of those two most amiable arts, sculpture and painting, in each of which we are at *Rome* daily surrounded by so many wonders, deserving the perpetual study of the most eminent masters, and capable of exciting at length the admiration even of the most ignorant spectator, such as myself.

In obedience however to the desire and example of these my two dear friends, I have endeavoured on this occasion to abridge some parts of one of the *Roman* lives in the noble collection of *Plutarch*; the life of an hero, who, however glorious in other
superior

superior respects, yet did not disdain to be a patron also of these arts.

If in the *Capitoline Museum* the statues and busts of the antient worthies of *Rome* could have been ranked (as some of this company were lately wishing) according to the different degrees of their virtue and fame, the figure of *Scipio Africanus Major* would certainly merit the first and principal place in that noble collection. The next place, my friend, who spoke last, wishes to reserve for his hero: but if *Fabius* should be thought to deserve the high honour of being placed on one hand of the great *Scipio*, surely *Marcellus* might justly claim his station on the other. How august indeed would be then the appearance of that groupe? A triumvirate, not of the destroyers, but of the defenders and deliverers of their country.

MARCELLUS.

WHEN we last visited that noble *Museum*, it was with great pleasure that we heard *Crito* opening the character of *Scipio* with the history of his first and noblest heroism, the saving of the life of his father. Nor is it at present a little pleasure to me to recollect that *Marcellus* also began his course of virtue exactly in the same most glorious

rious manner; having, in his first campaign, at the same early age, and with the same most manly fortitude, shielded and saved the life of his beloved brother, in one of the bloody engagements in the first *Punic* war.

No wonder, that *Marcellus* making his first entrance into the world with so noble and amiable an action, should be encouraged by the united applause of all ranks and conditions of his countrymen; crowned with military honours by his general, and soon after chosen *Curule Aedile* by the people, and elected into the high rank and office of *Augur* by the priests. But it is much more to his glory, that his virtues were uncorrupted by pride, and were continually encreasing together with his honours and his years.

IN the following important war with the *Gauls*, we find *Marcellus*, not only himself advanced to the consulship, but also intrusted with the most honourable privilege of chusing his brother consul and colleague. A privilege, of which he made the noblest use, by immediately fixing his choice on *Scipio*, the father of the great *Africanus*.

As to the particulars of his conduct and courage in that war, it will be needless to trouble you now with a repetition of them. But few months
are

are elapsed, since, while at *Milan*, you recollected with pleasure, that it was under the walls of that great city, that *Marcellus* routed the enemies of his country, and saved from destruction the army of his illustrious brother-consul: but few months are elapsed, since, while on the banks of the *Trebia* and *Tesin*, you recollected the heroism there shewn by *Scipio* in opposition to the troops of *Hannibal*, and also the fortitude of *Marcellus*, in the same country, in his defeat of the numerous *Gallic* army, and his personal engagement with its king.—*Marcellus* conquered and triumphed in the same manner, as *Aeneas* is described by *Virgil*, (soon after having seen at *Cuma*, with the greatest raptures, the triumphant shade of this very *Marcellus*) victoriously erecting, in that plain at the foot of this hill, the trophy of the *Etruscan* king, *Mezentius*, conquered by his hand.

BUT let us not now dwell too long on that part of the glorious history of *Marcellus*. Seated as we are at present so near the camp, and perhaps in the very place of the tent of *Hannibal*, let us turn all our attention to the consideration of *Marcellus*, as supporting his sinking country from the force of that most formidable enemy. Sinking as the *Roman* state then was under the weight of the repeated calamities and slaughters of *Trebia*, *Trafymene*, and *Cannæ*, it was indeed the glory of
Fabijs,

Fabius, that by caution and prudence he prevented its utter fall and ruin ; but surely it was not less the glory of *Marcellus*, that, by the example of his own daring resolution, (mixed with the greatest conduct, such as became a general of his known abilities and long experience) he was able to change the whole face of that dreadful war, dispelling the general consternation of the *Roman* armies, awakening their ancient intrepidity, filling them with an eager desire to meet again in the field their lately reputed invincible enemies, and with the most unshaken resolution, never to yield even to *Hannibal* himself. In how many repeated, most obstinate engagements, did he struggle with him for victory, being never conquered, and sometimes even rather victorious ? With what invincible fortitude and indefatigable industry did he earn from that his great antagonist the elogium, that *Marcellus* was the only man, who, when conqueror, gave his enemy no rest ; and, when conquered, never took any himself : adversity always inspiring with fresh and firmer fortitude, and urging him on to perseverance in new labours. A noble elogium on him, while living, crowned by the still more noble manner, in which the last honours were paid to him, when dead, by the same great *Carthaginian*. For let us with pleasure recollect, (standing, as we are at present, perhaps in the very footsteps of *Hannibal*) that, when *Marcellus*

was

was cut off by so unexpected an accident, in the height of all his glory, *Hannibal* admired his corpse, lying on the field, without uttering the least insulting expression over it, or shewing the least sign of joy at the fall of him, who was so great and formidable an adversary :

*Forsan Scipiadae confecti nomina belli
Rapturus, siquis paulum Deus adderet ævo.*

Hannibal, in the most magnificent manner, performed himself the funeral rites of this his great rival, adorning his pile with the noblest ornaments, and with the greatest respect sending the ashes to his son at *Rome* in an urn of silver, covered with a crown of gold.

Magnanima invidia virtus caret.

IN our ride hither this morning from *Rome*, as we passed by the ruins of several triumphal arches within the walls, and afterwards in crossing the *Campania*, saw, at a distance on our right, the long row of sepulchral monuments on the *Appian* way, (among which the temple, erected by *Marcellus* to *Honour* and *Virtue*, once stood) I could not help considering in what manner the mausolæum, erected to the memory of *Marcellus* himself, might most properly be supposed to have been adorned. The trophies so nobly acquired in the *three* great wars, the

the *Gallic* and first and second *Punic*, would certainly richly cover *three* of its sides. But how superior may we imagine to have been the appearance of the fourth? In what beautiful bas-reliefs might his *Sicilian* heroisms be there represented? The conquest of *Sicily*, and captivity of *Syracuse*; a conquest founded in justice, (for it is said to have been against all faith of treaties, that the *Sicilians* had taken arms against *Rome*, and with the greatest obstinacy, that they had refused all proposals for peace) and a captivity, softened by what appeared in those miserable times the greatest moderation and humanity, the greatest clemency and commiseration.

IN one compartment of these bas-reliefs how amiably may we imagine the sculptor following the historian, in describing this true hero, in the very hour of the storming of *Syracuse*, preserving the lives and liberties of all its citizens, and saving the city itself from utter destruction; lamenting the other calamities of war, which it was not in his power to prevent, and even shedding tears at the fall of that seat of the grandeur and opulence of his enemies?

IN another compartment how still more amiably might *Marcellus* be represented, regarding with grief and reverence the corpse of *Archimedes*, that
great

great philosopher, who had so instructed the world by his mathematical studies, and (like what we heard of *Vauban* in *France*) so worthily applied them to the benefit and defence of his country? Nor was it to the honouring the corpse only of *Archimedes*, that *Marcellus* confined his veneration of that great and good man; with great earnestness he enquired after his surviving relations, and took the whole family under his most cordial protection and beneficent favour. For besides the general spirit of humanity and mercy which he breathed to all men, he was particularly moved in favour of *Archimedes's* family, by the high love which he bore to the philosophy, oratory, and all the other sciences of *Greece*, and by his admiration of all those who had excelled in them. For let me with pleasure add, that *Marcellus* was the first person who had the honour of introducing into this his country, a taste of all those elegant arts of *Greece*, which *Rome* afterwards so deservedly admired and envied, but never could equal.

*Excudent alii spirantia mollius æra ;
 (Credo equidem) vivos ducent de marmore vultus ;
 Orabunt causas melius ; cælique meatus
 Describent radio, & surgentia sidera dicent.*

THE third compartment might shew him, not in armour, but in his more venerable senatorial robes

Bo
rob
tha
Syr
(an
his
mun
the c
had
Mar
selve
to pr
great
in ba
ness,
other
On hi
for th
his pr
condes
tunitie
fellow-

BUT
ture of
What
and fac
was on
this ver
was in
VOL

robes of peace, and might particularly represent that part of his history, when being accused by the *Syracusians* of cruelty in the conquest of their city, (an accusation most unjustly formed; for such was his goodness and benignity to all states and communities, as well as to private persons, that if in the course of the war any thing cruel or even severe had happened, it was justly chargeable, not on *Marcellus*, but on the conduct of the sufferers themselves) he with the greatest calmness gave them leave to prefer their accusation to the senate, and with the greatest modesty submitted to his trial. For it was in battle only, that *Marcellus* shewed that fierceness, with which his courage inspired him; on all other occasions he was most modest and courteous. On his acquittal he sincerely forgave the *Syracusians* for this injury and affront, received them under his protection, and with the greatest candour and condescension continued always to take all opportunities of conferring on his accusers and their fellow-citizens all the good offices in his power.

BUT what subject shall we imagine for the sculpture of the fourth and concluding compartment? What more noble than the triumphal procession and sacrifice of *Marcellus* on *this* very hill? For it was on *this* very hill, it was along the pavement of *this* very road, that he ascended in triumph. It was in the very area of *this* temple, on the ruins

and foundations of which you are now sitting, (may the idea long have its full and proper effect on our minds!) that *Marcellus* offered to heaven his thanksgiving sacrifice for that victory, which, in its nature, certainly must be most agreeable in the sight of HIM, who is the real father of all the inhabitants of heaven and earth; that noblest of victories;

——— *Ubi parcere victis*
Pro prædâ fuit; & sese contenta, nec ullo
Sanguine pollutis plaufit victoria pennis.

SIL. ITALIC.

* * *

THE third young gentleman (*Crito's* pupil) now rose up and spoke as follows.

If in the choice of great and worthy characters, contemporary to *Scipio*, it had been proper to have selected one from the history of a neighbouring nation, I should with great pleasure have endeavoured to have turned your thoughts to the history of *Syracuse*, to the character of the good king *Hiero*; that benevolent and wise sovereign, who during so long a life was so constant a benefactor to his people; having, during a reign of *above fifty* years, preserved his country in peace and plenty, even in the midst of all the fury and misery of the wars

wars of *Rome* and *Carthage*. My thoughts have indeed for some time dwelt with joy, and even flowed (as it were involuntarily) in some *English* verses on that most amiable subject; not without mixing with his praises those also of his son *Gelo*; that worthy prince, who far from meanly murmuring at the length of his father's life and reign, nobly placed his happiness in passing his days as the son and subject of such a parent; behaving to him always with the greatest respect and love, and never bearing the thought of desiring to survive him.

THESE verses I shall perhaps venture to submit to your correction, when in a few days we make our intended visit to the gardens of *Villa Madama**, on the side of *Monte Mario*. You remember the rural and most romantic theatre in those gardens, which is surrounded by scenes of real rock-work, and by beautiful real prospects, through the grove, of the windings of the *Tiber*. In that theatre, you know that the famous pastoral of *Tasso*, the *Aminta*, was first acted: how happy if I could, in the same place, offer to you any thing in the spirit of an ancient *Syracusan* pastoral, on the praise of this true royal shepherd of his people, who was deservedly so beloved by all his subjects, and so honoured in all the regions of *Greece* and *Italy*?

K 2

AT

* This beautiful *Villa* is the architecture of the great *Raphael*.

At present we are confined to *Roman* worthies; and happy is it that the *Roman* history of this age, is so rich and abundant in great characters, that it is not difficult to find an hero, worthy to be named even after the most respectable names of *Scipio*, *Fabius Maximus*, and *Marcellus*.

As I was taking a solitary walk some days past at *Rome*, near the spot still known by the name of the house of the *Cornelii*, and looking on those neighbouring circular ruins, which are said to be part of the baths built by *Paulus Æmilius*, I was immediately struck with the consideration, how highly *Paulus Æmilius* deserved to be ranked among the great *Roman* characters of his times; being brother-in-law of the great *Scipio Africanus*; being son of that most illustrious consul *Paulus*, who so nobly died at *Cannæ*; and to the honour of so near a relationship to such heroes, having made the true and worthy addition of great personal merit.

PAULUS ÆMILIUS.

HAPPY was he in having had such domestic examples of virtue! Happy too, in being born in that age, when *Rome* abounded with many men so renowned for their virtues and abilities of mind,

mind, and when the youth of that great nation were in general all educated in the greatest modesty and temperance, in the greatest reverence and obedience to the laws of their country.—Among these, *Æmilius* made even in his youth a distinguished figure; in civil affairs, not endeavouring to rise to honours by the mean arts of popularity, but purchasing a far more noble and durable reputation by that sincere virtue, and remarkable integrity, which remained during his whole life so uncorrupted; in military affairs, not aiming by flattery and false indulgence to court the favour of the soldiery, but industrious in studying and practising, in teaching, and enforcing, that fortitude, conduct, and rigid discipline, which was the foundation of the power and prosperity of his country.

THE first offices of the state to which *Æmilius* rose, (like *Marcellus*) were those of *Ædile* and *Augur*.—About the time that his brother *Scipio* was carrying on the war in *Asia* against *Antiochus*, he was appointed prætor, and sent to command in the war in *Spain*. By his military conduct there, he subdued the enemies in the field, and made himself master of two hundred and fifty of their towns; by his civil wisdom he then quieted the whole country; and leaving it in peace, returned to *Rome*; with this great additional honour, that during his administration of the affairs of so large

and rich a province, he had not sullied his hands or heart by any the least gain or lucre to himself.

RISING to the consulship, he commanded the war in *Piemont*, and, in one glorious campaign, defeated the army of the enemy, (which was five times more numerous than his own) and totally subdued all the maritime power of the *Ligurian* coast, which at that time was by its piracies so formidable through all the western parts of the *Mediterranean*. It is remarkable, that in this war, as well as in that of *Spain*, he behaved constantly with great clemency to the enemy.

AFTER the conclusion of his consulship, we find him during several years retired to private life, yet employing his time in it, in a manner not less honourable or amiable, or less useful to his country, than in any of the scenes of his public life: for he was the best of fathers, and gave his attention wholly to the education of his children. His two daughters he rendered worthy to be married, one into the *Ælian*, the other into the *Cato* family; his two sons worthy to be adopted, one as the heir of the house of *Fabius Maximus*, the other of that of *Scipio Africanus*. It is remarkable, that he educated his sons, not only in the *Roman* learning, but also in that of *Greece*; being perhaps greatly

greatly influenced to this, by the consideration that his family was lineally descended from the great *Pythagoras*. Among the many arts and sciences of *Greece*, in which these truly noble youths were instructed, my friend who spoke last will not be displeased to hear, that painting and sculpture are expressly named.

ÆMILIUS was now advancing to his sixtieth year, when he was called to the consulship and command of the war in *Macedonia*, as *Marcellus* was at the same age to his last consulship and campaign against *Hannibal*.

Canitiem premimus galeâ.

The merit of these great *Romans* was indeed continually calling them forth to new honours and new labours; nor was there any time of life from the earliest youth to the most advanced age, which they ever pleaded as an excuse for declining such public service.

THE campaign of *Æmilius* in *Macedonia*, may perhaps be considered as a specimen of the whole military history of *Rome*, being full of the greatest success, founded in the greatest warlike merit. For *Æmilius* himself was full of valour, full of wisdom and conduct: continually supporting the discipline of the army; continually himself indefatigable in labour and application; and adding to

his own industry, perpetual implorations of the divine assistance. How glorious indeed did *Æmilius* then appear, thus surrounded by the splendour of his own merit, and by that of his valiant sons and sons-in-law? two of whom then so nobly distinguished themselves, young *Cato*, and young *Scipio*, becoming from that time, the love and admiration not only of their father, but of the whole army.

THE great event of that campaign is so well known, as not to need any repetition. The first use which *Æmilius* made of his victory was to visit the cities of *Greece*, to ease the grievances of that people, and reform their government: to the *Macedonians* (as far as his duty to his country seemed to allow) he delivered up again all their territory, and all their cities, permitting them to live according to their own laws, and accepting as their annual tribute to *Rome*, half of what they used to pay to their former kings. *Leges Macedonia dedit cum tantâ curâ, ut non hostibus victis, sed sociis benemeritis dare videretur.* Of all the royal treasures, which were so immense, he would not accept the least part for himself, he would not even cast his eyes on any part of them.

HE returned to *Rome* to his former poverty, which he bore (together with other much greater domestic adversities) with as much constancy, as that

that with which he had supported all this his great and glorious public success.

HIS honours were soon after crowned by his last office of censorship, and his days soon concluded. He was attended to his grave by the love and veneration, not only of his countrymen, but even of the enemies of his country. *Spaniards, Ligurians, and Macedonians*, voluntarily crowded to support and follow his bier, the bier of him who had been their merciful conqueror, and ever afterwards their kind benefactor.

IN delineating this sketch of the character of *Æmilius*, there are some considerable parts of it, which I have not attempted to insert. I mean his behaviour to his royal prisoner *Perfes*, while in *Greece*, and afterwards during that pompous triumph, which proceeded first by water (along this very sea coast, and up that river) and then by land, with such continued magnificence even to the *Capitol at Rome*.

THAT pompous description would give but little pleasure to this company. — How far more truly noble indeed are the victories of the *British* nation? which (as the world has lately seen with admiration) takes such exalted pleasure, not in insulting, but in cloathing and feeding its captive enemies.

enemies. Its enemies indeed are conquered by the lenity of its government, before they are conquered by its arms. How far also more noble a triumph does the *past* history of *England* contain? I mean the description of that true triumph, when the truly heroic, humble, and humane prince of *Wales*, after the victories of *Cressy* and *Poitiers*, attended with so much deference and modesty through the streets of *London*, even to the great gate of *Westminster-hall*, his royal captive, the king of *France*.

BUT to return to the history of *Æmilius*: In all these actions, as well as in that most cruel work in *Epirus*, to which *Æmilius* was commanded * by the *Roman* senate, it is indeed to his honour, that these proceedings were most contrary to his own mild and beneficent temper, as is remarked even by a *Grecian* writer, *μαλιστα παρα την αυτη Φυσιν, επιεικη και χρηστην εσαν*, and that frequent marks of his humanity appear, struggling and breaking out amidst that pride and cursed hard-heartedness of his countrymen, which so disgrace the history of *Rome*.

IT

* *Æmilius* certainly ought to have resigned his commission, and even to have bravely refused to obey such orders of his government; in the same just and noble manner, in which so many brave *French* officers and governors (in the so black and miserable times of the cursed massacre of the *Huguenots*) disobeyed the inhuman and perfidious, impious and infernal commands of their sovereign, though they were otherwise of his party, both as to church and state.

It is with great pleasure, that, from the same Grecian writer, I have made the following extract, with which I shall conclude. It describes the sentiments of *Æmilius*, when in the very height of victory; delivered in a private conversation with his sons, to whom the moderation and wisdom of his great mind could then freely and fully thus disclose itself.

Αἰμίλιε, Περσῶν μὲν ἀναστῆσας καὶ δεξιωσάμεν, Τυβερῶνι παρέδωκε. Αὐτὸς δὲ τὰς παῖδας καὶ τὰς γαμβρὺς, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγεμονικῶν μάλιστα τὰς Νεώτερας, ἰσὺ τῆς σκηνῆς ἐπισπασάμεν, πολὺν χρόνον ἢ πρὸ αὐτῶ σιωπῇ καθήμεν, ὥστε θαυμάζειν ἅπαντας. Ὀρμήσας δὲ περὶ τῆς τύχης καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διαλεγέσθαι πραγμάτων,

Αἰμίλιε (εἶπεν) ἀξίον, εὐπραγίας παύσεως, ἀνθρώπων οἷα θρασυνέσθαι, καὶ μέγα φρονεῖν, εἴη ἢ ἡ πόλις ἢ ἡ βασιλεία κατὰ σφραγισμένην; ἢ τὴν μεταβολὴν ταύτην τῆς τύχης, ἢ παραδειγμα τῷ πολεμῶντι τῆς κοινῆς ἀσθενείας προδίδουσα, παιδεύει μὴδὲν ὡς μόνιμον καὶ βεβαίον διανοεῖσθαι; Ποῖος γὰρ ἀνθρώποις τὸ θάρρειν καιρὸς, ὅταν τὸ κρατεῖν ἰσχυρῶν, μάλιστα δίδωκεναι τὴν τύχην ἀναγκάζῃ, καὶ τὸ χαίρουσι δυσθυμίαν ἐπαγῇ τοσαύτην ὅς τῆς περιφερομένης καὶ προσιστάμενης ἀλλοτὶ ἄλλοις ἐμαρμένης λογισμῶς; ἢ τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρου διαδοχὴν, ὅς ἐπιπλεῖστον ἡρῶν δύναμει, καὶ μεγίστον ἐσχεν κρατεῖν, ὥρας μίας μορῶν πεσόντων ὑπὸ ποδάσ θάμνοι, καὶ τὰς ἀρτί μυριάσι πεζῶν καὶ χιλιασιν ἵππων τοσαύταις ὀπλοφορούμενης βασιλεῖς ὀρώντες ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων

πολεμίων χείρων εφημερα σιτία και ποτα λαμβανοντας,
οισθε τα καθ' ημας εχειν τινα βεβαιότητα τυχης διαρκη
πρὸς του χρονου; Ου καταβαλοντες υμεις, οι Νεοι, το
κενον φρουαγμα τυτο κ' γαυριαμα της νικης, ταπεινοι κα-
ταπληξετε, πρὸς το μελλον αιει καταδοκυντες, εις οτι κα-
τασκευσει τελος εκασω την της παρθης ευπραγίας ο
Δαιμων νεμεσι;

Τοιαυτα φασι πολλα διαλεχθεντα του Αιμιλιου απο-
πειψαι της νους, ευ μαλα το καυχημα κ' την υβριν,
ωσπερ χαλινω τω λογω κοπλουντι, κεκολασμενους*.

* * *

ON the conclusion of this paper, the young gentleman sat down, and *Crito*, after some pause, thus replied.

You did, dear sir, great justice to the good hearts of your young friends, as well as to your own, in judging that the description of such a
Roman

* *Liwy* gives most of the sense of this Greek passage in a few words:

Consilio dimisso, tuendi cura Regis Q. Aelio mandatur. Eo die & invitatus ad Consulem Perseus, & alius omnis ei honos habitus est, qui haberi in tali fortunâ poterat.—Æmilius locutus est Græco sermone Perseo; Latine deinde suis.

Exemplum insigne cernitis, inquit, mutationis rerum humanarum. Vobis hoc præcipue dico, juvenes. Ideo in secundis rebus nihil in quemquam superbe ac violenter consulere debet, nec præsentì credere fortunæ; (quum, quid vesper ferat, incertum sit.) Is demum vir erit, cujus animum nec prospera flatu suo effèret, nec adversa infringet.

Roman triumph would by no means be an agreeable entertainment to them. The inhumanity indeed of part of that ceremony drew tears even from the hard-hearted spectators themselves. Let us then, according to your advice, turn our thoughts from that part of the history of *Æmilius*! Let us study his real virtues, and noble qualities of mind! Let us be particularly attentive to whatever is wise and true in these his solemn reflections!

YET suffer me to add one observation: viz. That if such reflections on such an occasion had great and good effects on the minds of these three illustrious young *Romans*, young *Scipio* *, *Fabius*, and

* Several years after this event, on the day of the destruction of *Carthage*, this very *Scipio* sat down there on an high ground, from whence he might see that tragedy to its conclusion. Tears came into his eyes; and with a melancholy voice he repeated that *Homer*ic prophecy,

Ἐσθλαί ἡμᾶς, ὅτ' αὖ ποτ' ἄλωλῃ Ἰλίου ἴρη

Καὶ Πριάμῳ, καὶ λαῷ εὐμενίῳ Πριάμοιο.

Carthage, that once so mighty city, in flames, brought to his mind, not only the fall of *Troy*, but of those wide extended empires of the *Affyrians*, *Medes*, and *Persians*; and from the instability of human things, he feared that *Rome* would one day undergo a fate like to that, which now overwhelmed *Carthage*. It was thus that he explained himself to *Polybius*, who was then near him; and it is also highly probable, that he then recollected the similar fall of the *Macedonian* empire also, (in which he himself had been both spectator and actor) and that these solemn reflections of his father *Æmilius*, now rose again strongly to his memory, and affected his heart with these noble pangs of humanity.

and *Cato*, similar reflections ought on the present occasion to have their full effect on your minds also.

O my dear three young friends! the scene of the vanity of the greatest human grandeur is *even now* before your eyes!

Look on those green fields, which are situated between the three lakes at the foot of this hill! there once stood the city of *Alba*; in which (if I am not mistaken) this very *Perfes* (who had in such opulence sat on the throne even of *Alexander* the Great) died in the lowest misery, after having long suffered all the disgrace, and all the indigence, and even hunger of a common jail*.

Look a little further towards the marshes on that sea coast! there are still shewn the places, where *Laurentum* and *Lavinium* stood, the first cradles of the *Roman* empire. Look a little further to the right-hand, and behold its grave! For what are all the noblest ruins on the banks of that river, but

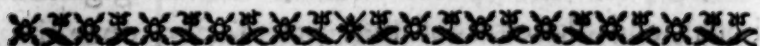
* With *Perfes* were led captive in triumph his young children; two sons and one daughter. The daughter and one of the sons died soon; it is uncertain in what manner. His other son earned his living by following the trade of a working toymen, but was afterwards preferred to be a writing clerk in one of the offices at *Rome*. In such poverty ended the royal house of *Macedon* about 160 years after the death of that monarch, to whose ambition this whole earth seemed too narrow.

but the vast and antient tomb, and the gigantic bones and skeleton of that proud city, once the queen of the whole earth ?

O my dear friends, the last catastrophe both of the *Grecian* and of the *Roman* empires, the vanity of all the greatest human grandeur, is before your eyes.

MAY our hearts never forget it ! and may all our hopes be from henceforth in HIM alone, who created and perpetually sustains all *this* glorious prospect of heaven and of earth, who from generation to generation ordereth the course of *that* sun, who marketh impassable bounds to *that* sea, and who fixeth fast *these* everlasting mountains in his strength.

CHAP.



C H A P. III.

NINTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

AMONG the many retired rural walks *within* the walls of *Rome*, there is not, perhaps, any one more agreeable to a contemplative mind, than the low garden ground, which covers, but still preserves the shape of, the *Circus Maximus*. It was hither that this company came in the following afternoon. After having walked several turns in it, (surveying the pompous ruins on the neighbouring *Palatine*, *Cælian*, and *Aventine* hills) they rested themselves at the southern end of it, near the mill; on one of the banks, where formerly were the sloping seats for the spectators.

FROM hence they commanded the view of the whole length of the *Circus*, not without recollecting the ideas of all the antient pomp and magnificence of this place.

IF I am not misinformed, (said one of the young gentlemen) these rough banks, now so over-grown with weeds, were the very centre of all the most
luxurious

luxurious diversions, and of all the highest triumphal pride, both of republican and imperial *Rome*. But who would now imagine, that this green and silent garden before us (which seems proper only *canam centum dare Pythagoreis*) should have been so long the constant scene of such splendor? That such pompous entertainments should daily have been exhibited in this area, at the most extravagant expence; while these sloping banks around it were covered with the seats of upwards of one hundred and fifty thousand *Romans*, (then the proud lords of the world) on whose heads artificial and odoriferous dews were, during the whole games, continually sprinkling from above, and at whose feet even these ditches, in *Heliogabalus's* time, flowed with wine? Who would now imagine, that these three roads, which meet at this solitary water-mill, should be, one of them the *Via Triumphalis* for the conquerors of the northern regions of *Europe*; its opposite for the conquerors of *Asia* or *Afric*; and this still more solitary lane in the middle, to be that in which they both joined, and by which all the triumphal chariots ascended towards the *Capitol*, preceded by the spoils and captives of all the nations of the *Roman* universe?

I have heard it remarked (said *Crito's* pupil) that the games and triumphs were two of the things which in reality most dishonour the history of an-

tient *Rome*. Indeed besides the constant infinite expence, what wretched effects must be produced on the minds of the people by such daily public spectacles as these; which instead of pretending to inculcate any real improvement, were so calculated to corrupt both the head and the heart, constantly inspiring folly and vanity, idleness and licentiousness, pride and cruelty, all in the highest degree. Licentious as our modern public diversions are, and bloody as are our wars, yet how much worse in both these articles was antient *Rome*? How much has Christianity abated the wickedness of the first, and the cruelty of the last of these? In the last of these particularly, how much, to the general happiness of mankind, have the laws of war been softened by it?

AND as to antient times, vain and licentious as the *Athenians* were in their public games and theatres, and inhuman too sometimes in their wars, yet never were they guilty of such kind of cruelties, as so frequently stained this *Circus* and neighbouring amphitheatre with human blood. Once indeed it was proposed to introduce into *Athens* some of these *Roman* entertainments, when one of their principal patriots, who was expected to have opposed this design, strongly encouraged it in a public speech; recommending only, at the close of his oration, to the consideration of the assembly, whether

whether or no it would not in this case be highly expedient, in order to defray part of the expence, first to demolish (what would be now useless and *contradictory*) that most noble and sacred temple of *Mercy*, and that most venerable altar of the same deity in the *Acropolis*, which their truly great, wise, and glorious ancestors, had so adorned as the chief honour of their city, and so adored for now above a thousand years.

THE company smiled ; but *Crito* seriously thus replied. — The history of *Rome* (said he) is, in effect, the history of the human heart, when under the trials and temptations of the greatest wealth and power. The folly and vice, pride and cruelty, both of the circus and triumph, are only the extremes of that abuse, which we see every day made of lesser degrees of power and wealth. Hateful and contemptible on this account, as the names are of many consuls, and emperors of *Rome*, yet are not those persons of our own times proportionally odious and despicable, (and even much more so, considering the light of that blessed religion, which in vain shines upon them) who, possessed of a great degree of wealth, know not the blessedness of relieving multitudes of the unhappy by a generous abundant charity, but squander it away entirely upon themselves in the most idle and vain diversions ; and who, possessed of a great degree of

tient *Rome*. Indeed besides the constant infinite expence, what wretched effects must be produced on the minds of the people by such daily public spectacles as these; which instead of pretending to inculcate any real improvement, were so calculated to corrupt both the head and the heart, constantly inspiring folly and vanity, idleness and licentiousness, pride and cruelty, all in the highest degree. Licentious as our modern public diversions are, and bloody as are our wars, yet how much worse in both these articles was antient *Rome*? How much has Christianity abated the wickedness of the first, and the cruelty of the last of these? In the last of these particularly, how much, to the general happiness of mankind, have the laws of war been softened by it?

AND as to antient times, vain and licentious as the *Athenians* were in their public games and theatres, and inhuman too sometimes in their wars, yet never were they guilty of such kind of cruelties, as so frequently stained this *Circus* and neighbouring amphitheatre with human blood. Once indeed it was proposed to introduce into *Athens* some of these *Roman* entertainments, when one of their principal patriots, who was expected to have opposed this design, strongly encouraged it in a public speech; recommending only, at the close of his oration, to the consideration of the assembly, whether

whether or no it would not in this case be highly expedient, in order to defray part of the expence, first to demolish (what would be now useless and *contradictory*) that most noble and sacred temple of *Mercy*, and that most venerable altar of the same deity in the *Acropolis*, which their truly great, wise, and glorious ancestors, had so adorned as the chief honour of their city, and so adored for now above a thousand years.

THE company smiled; but *Crito* seriously thus replied. — The history of *Rome* (said he) is, in effect, the history of the human heart, when under the trials and temptations of the greatest wealth and power. The folly and vice, pride and cruelty, both of the circus and triumph, are only the extremes of that abuse, which we see every day made of lesser degrees of power and wealth. Hateful and contemptible on this account, as the names are of many consuls, and emperors of *Rome*, yet are not those persons of our own times proportionally odious and despicable, (and even much more so, considering the light of that blessed religion, which in vain shines upon them) who, possessed of a great degree of wealth, know not the blessedness of relieving multitudes of the unhappy by a generous abundant charity, but squander it away entirely upon themselves in the most idle and vain diversions; and who, possessed of a great degree of

power, use not (like guardian-angels) with humility that sacred instrument for the protection of mankind, but merely as a scourge of their inhuman, devilish pride, in making miserable all within their sphere?

How happy ought those to esteem themselves, who by their condition and state of life, are called to make continual use of their power and prosperity for the relief of others? For what more happy manner can there be found of employing these great gifts of fortune? what more noble exercise of power and fortitude, than this?

Look back on all the history of *Rome*; what page is there in all its volumes so splendid, as that of the consulship of *Titus Flaminius*? What heroism equal to that of his exalted beneficence? Is not all the ambition, luxury, and pride of *Rome*, mere folly and meanness, madness and misery, in comparison with this?

TITUS FLAMINIUS.

IT was on his return from his victories in *Macedonia*, that *Titus Flaminius* marched into the heart of the territories of the *Grecian* states. *Greece* had been for several ages oppressed by the *Macedonian*

donian princes, and now lay entirely at the will of this *Roman* conqueror. *Expectatione omnes erant erecti, qui deinde futurus status Græciæ, quæ sua esset fortuna.*

He encamped his victorious army on the *Corinthian Isthmus*, that most important pass, which commanded all the lands and seas of *Greece*.

It happened to be then the time of the *Isthmian* games; at the celebration of which, multitudes from all the cities of *Greece* constantly assembled in that place. While these numerous spectators were all sitting in the *Circus* there, a *Roman* herald entered the *Arena*, and with the sound of the trumpet, ordering silence, made this solemn proclamation.

"THE SENATE OF ROME, AND FLAMINIUS
"THE CONSUL, HAVING SUBDUED PHILIP, AND
"THE GREAT KINGDOM OF MACEDONIA, PRO-
"CLAIM IT, AS THEIR PLEASURE, THAT THE
"FOLLOWING NATIONS, THE CORINTHIANS,
"ACHÆANS, PHOCIANS, EUBÆANS, THESSA-
"LIANS, AND ALL THE OTHER NATIONS OF
"GREECE, WHETHER IN EUROPE OR IN ASIA,
"BE FROM THIS DAY DECLARED FREE."

THE first time, when the herald made this proclamation, the vast audience stood totally silent : they scarce believed what they themselves heard : they looked one on another, as if they all thought it but a dream. But when the herald, being recalled, made the same proclamation the second time, *tum ab certo jam gaudio maximus cum clamore plausus est ortus* ; the universal acclamation was so loud, that birds then flying over the *Circus*, dropt suddenly down dead ; all the hills and shores resounded ; and ships, far out at sea, felt the shock of this shout.

LEAVING the *Circus*, the whole assembly hastened to the tent of *Flaminius* ; blessing him with many thousand voices, for his nobleness of mind in forming so generous a design, and for his persevering fortitude in bringing it to effect ; multitudes crowding, in excess of joy, to kiss the hand of their deliverer ; others showering flowers and garlands on his head : his own heart, in the mean time, overflowing with abundance of happiness, (happiness far superior to what was felt by any other person of that vast assembly) with all the raptures of the consciousness of having performed so good an action.

THE conduct of *Flaminius*, during the rest of the time that he resided in *Greece*, was not unworthy

• K
(*Louis*)
in reco
lity.—
stronger
stronger
As t
other p
of *Flam*
fert in
hero.

thy of this so noble and so good a beginning. Of *Sparta* alone he could not complete the deliverance; as by endeavouring to dethrone its tyrant, that city itself (so peculiarly were its affairs then circumstanced) must in the course of the war have necessarily been destroyed: all the other states of *Greece* he placed in the fullest freedom, withdrawing all his troops and all his garrisons from them.

NOR was liberty the only great benefit which he bestowed on them: for, like that modern *Italian* hero, *A. Doria*, whose sepulchral chapel you visited with such reverence while at *Genoa*; far from the mean and cursed policy of sowing party-dissentions and factious hatreds among the people, in order to render the power of a bad government irresistible by them all, he laboured (as a father among his children) to establish both a good government, and its worthy companion, mutual and universal concord *.

L 4 WHEN

* King *Lewis* the IXth of *France* (commonly called *Saint Louis*) was remarkable for the same noble spirit of government, in reconciling all the hatreds and dissentions among his nobility.—In general it may be remembered, that division is the strongest support of a bad government, and concord the strongest and wisest of a good one.

As to *Andrea Doria*, his character in this as well as some other particulars bearing a strong resemblance of the conduct of *Flaminius* in *Greece*, it may not perhaps be improper to insert in the Appendix to this volume, a short account of that hero.

WHEN he took leave of the *Grecian* states, he generously and earnestly pressed this great and noble maxim on their memories, That this general and internal concord of all *Greece*, was the only method by which they could preserve to their country the blessings which they had now received from his hands, and by which they could render its liberty perpetually secure, and invincible by any future invasion from any foreign nation whatever.

IN gratitude for all these so many and so great benefits conferred, he desired to receive only one favour from them. *Hannibal* had, during his late furious war in *Italy*, made great numbers of *Romans* captive, and sold them as slaves: many of these unhappy men were now in that sad condition in many parts of *Greece*; *Flaminius* therefore could not avoid hoping, that the *Grecian* states would be pleased with this opportunity of repaying their obligations to *Rome*, by delivering these captives, and by thus in some measure giving freedom to that very nation, from which they had so lately received their own.

FLAMINIUS then returned to *Rome*; and most glorious indeed was his triumphal entry; not so much on account of the spoils of the wealth and power of *Macedonia*, which then filled these *Roman* streets, but that because, before the conqueror's

queror's chariot, were carried *one hundred and fourteen* golden crowns, the offerings of the several cities to which he had given liberty; and because he was followed up to the *Capitol* (along this very road, by the side of which we are now sitting) by many thousands of his poor countrymen, whom he had redeemed from captivity and slavery.

O my dear countrymen, you, whose generous minds and hearts are so desirous of communicating to your unhappy fellow-creatures an abundant share of those native great blessings which you yourselves enjoy! You, down whose cheeks, tears of pleasure ran so plentifully and so honourably a few days past, while present at the procession of that most merciful, and consequently best, *Order* for the relief and redemption of the Christian slaves in *Barbary*; (a procession, attended by many of those miserable captives themselves!) Let us now pause a while on these thoughts! Let these things *sink into our hearts!*

If such had *always* been the honours and pleasures of *Flaminius*, and of the other great men of this famous nation; if *Rome* had *always* thus sublimely placed its joy in doing such good, and had *sincerely always* followed the exalted spirit of such truly majestic benevolence, making it the constant and real object of its military labours to deliver,

deliver, by its power, all its neighbouring nations from oppression and tyranny, and thus to support, in so many regions, the great cause of justice and of liberty; how would the *Roman* history have then appeared?

WOULD it not upon earth have appeared the honour of the history of human nature? and ascended also, as a most sweet-smelling sacrifice to heaven?

BUT give me leave to apply to this subject, and to conclude with those words, some of which you lately heard, accompanied with such happy music, in our own dear church of *Westminster-Abbey*; I mean, during the most august ceremony of the coronation of their present MAJESTIES.

*BEcause the LORD loved the people,
Therefore placed He these rulers on the throne,
To do judgment, and to decree justice.*

*They shall justly govern the people:
They shall punish the wrong-doer;
And shall defend the children of the oppressed.*

*They shall be favourable to the oppressed;
And shall deliver him, who hath no helper;
For dear shall his blood be in their sight.*

Their

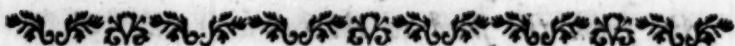
*Their dominion shall be from one sea to the other ;
And from the flood to the world's end.*

*All kings shall fall down before them ;
All nations shall do them service.*

*All the nations also shall praise them :
Their name also shall endure for ever
Among the posterities of mankind,
Which shall through them be made blessed, &c.*

Pf. lxxii.

CHAP.



C H A P. IV.

TENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

SCIPIO AFRICANUS
THE YOUNGER.

IT seems a remarkable as well as a pleasing circumstance (said *Crito*, as he was walking with his young friends in the *Vatican* library) that near the grand *Piazza* of this *Vatican* palace should have been interred, almost close together, two of the most illustrious worthies of antient *Rome*, whose characters in great learning, and great virtues, bear so near a resemblance to each other; I mean *Scipio Africanus* the Younger, (son of *Paulus Æmilius*) and *Marcus Aurelius*. The marbles, found among the ruins of *Scipio's* tomb, (which was originally a pyramid, much more lofty and magnificent than that of *Cestius*) are, at present, part of the rich pavement near the principal altar in *St. Peter's*; some of the brass ornaments of the same (particularly the two peacocks, emblems of *Africa*) are preserved in the *Vatican* garden. If you have leisure, and

and no objection, we will employ an hour in visiting the last of these.

○ In ascending from the *Vatican* library to the *Vatican* gardens, it is necessary to pass near the area of the *Belvidere*, so famous for its wonders of antient sculpture. The company, in passing by this place, forgot a while their first intention: they stood a considerable time admiring the *Grecian Apollo*, and the *Laocoon*, that glory of the arts of *Rhodes*. — How great a proof (said one of the young gentlemen) is this figure of *Laocoon*, not only of the exalted genius of the *Greeks*, but of their indefatigable industry also? that wise industry, which alone leads to perfection. They seem to have attempted few, but noble, works: they certainly perfected them to the utmost possible degree of excellence. The groupe before us is the joint labour of no less than three of the most eminent sculptors of antiquity, a father and two sons, mutually assisting each other; and the excellency of it is so great, that the third part of its merit exalts each of its several authors far superior in the glory of their art above any other masters, whose works are remaining, excepting only *Apollonius* the *Athenian*. — Saying this, he approached the third and greatest wonder of the place, the fragment of the *Hercules*, on the base of which is engraved, ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΝ ΝΕΣΤΟΡΟΝ ΑΘΗΝΑΙΟΝ

ΕΡΩΤΗΣΙΣ. ποῦ εἶναι τὸ ἀγαλματὶς τοῦ Ἡρώδου τοῦ ἑλίου?

THIS

THIS is that most famous model which *Michael Angelo* so continually studied with such indefatigable application, and by which he was principally enabled to revive, in so great a degree, the majesty of the antient sculpture. An application imitated in some measure by all the young artists, who come from all regions of *Europe* to *Rome* to perfect themselves either in statuary or painting, and who are wise and industrious enough to employ their time there to the best advantage.

How happy (said *Crito*, looking on this inestimable antique) would it be for the students of all sciences, if they would imitate the wise humility of him who was perhaps the greatest genius of modern times, *Michael Angelo*; (the *Phidias* of modern sculpture as well as architecture) and study with equal diligence and perseverance the noblest examples of their several arts? Such study and such imitation would be to them all the surest and easiest road to great excellence. And give me leave to add, that if it is useful for youth to be informed, that the best method of studying painting, or sculpture, is constantly to employ themselves in working after the very best models, and in daily endeavouring to enter more and more into the spirit of the very greatest masters, and into the knowledge of the maxims, and rational principles, on which they proceeded; it is certainly much more important

important to them to be informed, that the same observation and rule is equally true in the study and practice of the great science of virtue. This may be demonstrated by multitudes of instances, but by none perhaps in the whole *Roman* history more strongly than by the life of that great man, to whose memory we had dedicated this morning, *Scipio Africanus* the Younger. The *Grecian* philosophers were indeed to the antient *Romans*, what the *Greek* sculptors are to the modern artists here. Among these philosophers, *Scipio* chose, like *Michael Angelo*, the most perfect: *Socrates*, as described by *Xenophon*, was his *Apollonius*: and he studied this his model, like him, with the most persevering industry and application during his whole life. *Socraticum Xenophontem semper habebat in manu*. No wonder that fixing himself to such a study, he should become *omnibus animi dotibus eminentissimus seculi sui*: and that his panegyrist should be bold enough to add this elogium to all the other praises, which by so many other writers are so excessively heaped on his memory, *Nil in vitâ, nisi laudandum, aut sensit, aut dixit, aut fecit*.

THE company now descended into the neighbouring *Vatican* garden, where the conversation continued on the different parts of this great man's character.

SCIPIO

SCIPPIO *Africanus* the Younger is reckoned in all respects the most fully accomplished hero, which *Rome* ever produced; and it is very much to be remarked, that, in all his actions, he constantly, exactly, and nobly imitated the examples of the great men, who had adorned his family, or country before him. *Publium Scipionem* (vid. *Sallust*) sæpe audiivi solitum ita dicere: cum majorum imagines intueretur, vebementissimè sibi animum ad virtutem accendi: scilicet non ceram illam, neque figuram tantam vim in sese habere; sed memoriâ rerum gestarum eam flammam egregiis viris in pectore crescere, neque priùs sedari, quàm virtus eorum famam atque gloriam adæquaverit. Indeed this constant imitation of the very best characters of *Rome*, joined to his *Socratic* studies, rendered him in several respects far superior to his country. In one particular he remarkably shewed a spirit far more noble than the general spirit of his countrymen; for when, as censor, he performed the public solemn devotions in the *Capitol*, instead of the usual form of prayer on that occasion, (of beseeching the gods to increase and enlarge the power and dominion of the *Roman* people) he gratefully returned them a thanksgiving for all their bounties already bestowed on *Rome*, humbly praying, that they would be pleased to grant to that nation security and contentment in its present state.

BUT

BUT it is in particular very pleasing to observe, how his life is in all its parts a laboured but spirited copy of that of his grand-father, the elder *Scipio Africanus*. He imitated *his military glory*, and that unstained by avarice *, both in *Spain* and *Afric*: he imitated *his love to his country when at home*; for in his mind all considerations always gave way to that of the superior object of the public good: (as may be seen by his opposing the attempts of his near relation *Gracchus*; *Pietatem enim coluit magnam in propinquis; in patriâ verò maximam.*) In all civil affairs he constantly shewed the greatest abilities, the greatest constancy, magnanimity, and intrepidity in fronting all dangers, and in meeting (as was his fate on this account) death itself. In his *private* life also he followed the same great example of *Africanus* †, both in his humility to his companions, and his love and liberality to his brother; both in his great generosity to his sisters, and his goodness and gratitude to his parents.

VOL. I.

M

BUT

* *Avi exemplo, Carthagine devictâ, nihil sibi lucratus rediit.* In this also, as well as in many other respects, the example of his father, *Paulus Æmilius*, must have had great effect on his mind.

† If *Scipio* was so attentive to follow the great examples of former times, he has by that attention and industry acquired a right to be himself studied and imitated by posterity. *Scipio vivit, semperque vivet. Virtus enim illius viri non est extincta, sed etiam posteris semper clara erit & insignis. Nemo unquam animo aut spe majora concipiet, qui sibi non illius memoriam atque imaginem proponendam putet, &c.* *Cicero*, de Amicitia, in fine.

BUT before we conclude this great character, it will be proper to take notice of two particulars, in which he was much more happy and glorious than his grand-father.

THE first, his great turn of mind to learning. This appeared in him, when very young; when out of all the spoils of *Macedonia*, he chose only the royal library; and when with so much ardency he laid the foundation of his long friendship with *Metrodorus* and *Panætius*, *Pacuvius* and *Terence*, and above all with *Lælius* and the great *Polybius*. How amiably described is this his happiness with some of these his companions? *Remotus ab oculis populi, pacis serviens artibus, animum disciplinis semper exercens; inter studia semper versatus cognoscendi aliquid & discendi*. No wonder that such study and such company should ennoble the conduct of his whole life, in all the times both of war and peace, in all the hours both of labour and leisure, and fill every part of it with so great degree of the dignity and grace of virtue.

THE other was friendship. *Ex hac maximam cepit gloriam; ex omnibus enim sæculis vix tria aut quatuor amicorum paria nominantur in eo genere, in quo nota est Scipionis & Lælii amicitia*. How nobly is this most amiable part of *Scipio's* character described in *Tully's* book *de Amicitia*? How much

is.

is it to be wished, that that book (which is so constantly in the hands of youth) may have its due effects in forming their minds? And how much to be hoped, that this company in particular will never forget, that both *Scipio* and *Laelius* were not only the most friendly and most learned, but also the *best* men of their country; and that, though friendship and learning are two of the greatest ornaments and crowns of virtue, yet neither can true learning, nor true friendship, ever *even subsist* without her?

SOMETHING like this (continued *Crito*) was the character of *Scipio* the Younger. But give me leave here more than ever to repeat my expressions of concern, that you have not a more able and worthy person than myself to trace out to you such illustrious characters. The beautiful and majestic character of *Scipio* the Younger is indeed, in some respects, the *Belvidere Apollo* of the *Roman* history. What pity then is it, that your biographer is so utterly deficient both in strength of thought and of language, and so unable to express the least shadow of a character, which by the wise as well as eloquent *Tully* is so strongly represented to be full of the most exalted excellence?



CHAP. V.

ELEVENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

ABOUT two or three miles from *Rome*, the river *Anio* passes under the bridge called *Ponte Mentana*, formerly *Pons Nomentanus* : fronting the further end of this bridge rises a grassy round hillock, not in the least remarkable as to its appearance, though very much so as to its history. For this is no other than the *Mons Sacer*, so famous in the early ages of the *Roman* republic.

It was on this hillock that this company of *English* friends were sitting the following evening, surveying with pleasure the landskip before them, over every part of which there was then a most particular calmness and tranquility spread. For after a violent hurricane in the morning, not a breeze was now stirring ; the fields and meadows were all in the deepest stillness and silence ; (excepting only when interrupted by the lowings of the white oxen in them) the river was quite unruffled, and smooth as glass, gliding, according to its antient description,

Ad genitorem Anio labens sine murmure Tibrim.

THE

THE serenity and tranquility of this evening, (said one of the young gentlemen) what a surprising beauty does it add to this prospect? This landskip at another time would not appear in the least remarkable; though in this pleasant hour it is able to recall to our memories the ideas even of those beautiful meadows, which front the antient temple near the sources of *Clitumnus*; and of that quiet and peaceable scene of the rural retreats of the nymph *Egeria*, as described by *Claude Lorrain* in his paintings in the *Colonna* gallery.

TRANQUILITY and peace (replied *Crito*) have on every thing the same blessed effect; on the face of nature both by sea and land; on the human countenance and mind; on all scenes of domestic life; on all public affairs. The present delightful calm after the late storm may indeed be considered by us as a kind of emblem of that public tranquility and concord, which (after such turbulent dissensions of the several parties and members of the *Roman* state) *Menenius Agrippa* was so happy as to negotiate and perfect *here on this very spot of this truly sacred mount*. — O my dear friends, how truly sublime and beautiful are all such works of public concord? May it be your happiness and glory, in your future parliamentary lives, to imitate such an example of true senatorial wisdom, and to be always the ready instruments of Providence

dence for softening party-divisions, and for maintaining the public peace and calm of your country! Parties must indeed exist in *Britain*, as in all other lands of liberty: but it is surely one of the noblest works of political wisdom, to prevent these dissensions from ever becoming excessive; it is certainly the duty of all individuals to take all opportunities of asswaging the rage of faction, to labour for peace, to preserve their own minds in the due tempers of virtue and of charity, and to love and reverence the good men of all parties.

IN like manner, in studying the past history of our own country, how most pleasing and improving an employment is it to a generous mind, preserving its tranquillity, impartiality, and general love of all, to consider the great characters of every party; and to examine, not so much the imperfections, as the several great virtues in each? For instance, to admire with *Clarendon*, the most amiable character of lord *Falkland*; and then in other authors to open with due reverence the splendid pages of the life of *Hampden*, or rather to examine them both as they appear together in the first pages of the late *Dialogues of the Dead*.

THIS I am encouraged to hope will be the spirit of your political studies; for I am sure it has been the spirit with which you have travelled. Superior
to

to the blindness and meanness of any kind of party, it has been your happiness and praise to have given just attention and admiration to all instances of true merit, which were to be met with, either in the histories, or in the present view of any of the nations thro' which you have passed.

WITH the same generous and impartial spirit let us endeavour to consider the antient history of *Rome*. Yesterday (following the authority of *Cicero*, and of other most approved authors) we endeavoured to pay full honours to the memory of *Scipio Africanus Minor*: this evening, seated as we are at present on *this bill of concord*, let us duly reflect on the memories of the *Gracchi*. Be not surprized at that name! Notwithstanding the odium generally cast on their characters, let us recollect how *Virgil* ranks them among the principal *Roman* heroes in the *Elysian Fields**, closely adjoining even to the great shades of the *Scipios* and the *Catos*.

M 4

Quis

* *Voltaire*, in his description of the *Elysian* abodes in his *Henriade*, joins together all the heroes of his nation in the same manner:

*Les plus grands ennemis, les plus fiers adversaires,
Réunis dans ces lieux, ne sont plus que des freres.*

Book vii. ver. 250.

Sir Thomas More, still infinitely more nobly (in his speech on receiving sentence of death) thus addressed the Lords who condemned

*Quis te magne Cato tacitum; aut te, Cossæ, relinquat;
 Quis Gracchi genus; aut geminos, duo fulmina belli,
 Scipiadas? ———*

Far be it from me to think myself capable of judging on the merits of the great political cause, in which they were so deeply engaged. On that head let us be silent. Let us confine ourselves to the study of those great virtues, which by the universal consent of all parties, so adorned the other parts of their characters; and let us conclude with lamenting the misery of civil discords, which so unhappily shortened the lives, and have endeavoured also to blacken the memories, in one age of a *Scipio* and a *Gracchus*, in another of a *Falkland* and an *Hampden*.

GRACCHI.

PERHAPS the most useful method which you can take in considering this part of the characters of the *Gracchi*, will be to turn your minds towards their favourite object the *British* House of Commons;

demned him; hoping that he should meet them all, and be happy with them for evermore, in those blessed mansions of perpetual peace and joy, where *St. Paul* and *St. Stephen*, though in this world one was the persecutor even unto death of the other, are now joined together in one undivided happiness, love, and friendship, to all eternity.

mons; and to imagine yourselves, or some of your young friends, making their first entrance into that august assembly, with the same qualifications and dispositions with which these young *Romans* first entered the comitia and senate.

IT is difficult indeed to conceive any young patriots beginning their political labours with greater or nobler hopes: for the *Gracchi* were descended from the most illustrious families of their country; they were grand-sons of *Scipio Africanus Major*, and sons of that *Gracchus*, who, though at the very head of the *Roman* state, was far more ennobled by his virtues, than by any of the high offices and public honours which were accumulated on him.

THEIR characters bore a strong, mutual, and fraternal resemblance, in their private life, as well as in their military and political actions: though indeed, in all these respects, the elder brother (*Tiberius*) is esteemed to have been superior to the younger.

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS was naturally endowed with those two most inestimable qualifications, a great genius, and an excellent heart; both of which were infinitely improved and encreased by a good education.

IN

IN his private character he was remarkable for early virtue; particularly for temperance, bravery, liberality, and greatness of mind. It is even said, that, though at that time the young nobility of his country were in general persons of good and even high characters, yet *Tiberius Gracchus* shewed a genius for true virtue far beyond all others of his time of life.

As to his military character (which always made a considerable part of the life of the young *Roman* nobility, as at present of the *French*) he was in this also remarkably eminent. He had the happiness to serve in *Afric* under his brother-in-law *Scipio Africanus Minor*: he took that opportunity of diligently studying the noble example of that his glorious commander, and by this study was excited to an ardent emulation of his virtues, and imitation of his actions. By these means he in a short time excelled all the other young officers, as much in the regularity of his behaviour, as in the heroic degree of his courage*. In his following campaigns in *Spain* he continued still in the same high reputation both for valour and wisdom: and this his high character was still more exalted by the particular respect and veneration which he shewed

* In the storming of *Carthage*, *Tiberius Gracchus* was the first who scaled the walls.

shewed for his commander, *Mancinus*, though the most unfortunate of all *Roman* generals.

As to his qualifications for entering into that exalted profession, which was the glory of the *Roman*, as at present of the *English* gentry, (I mean the profession of the legislature of his country) he was certainly possessed of two of the very greatest, viz. eloquence and integrity.

ON the first of these his qualifications, it will be needless for me here to enlarge; as you must sufficiently remember the high degree of admiration, with which all the antient writers speak of the eloquence of both these illustrious brothers; and the particular descriptions of each, which *Cicero* so frequently gives in several parts of his rhetorical works.

BUT if, in the assemblies of the *Roman* legislature, the *Gracchi* could by such eloquence so richly display the talents of their great minds; their good hearts also (particularly that of the elder) disclosed there another treasure still more noble: uprightness, contempt of riches, and a most active patriotic fortitude, in promoting whatever was useful, just, or honourable for their country.

SUCH

SUCH, according to universal consent, was *Tiberius Gracchus* at that time. *Vita innocentissimus, ingenio florentissimus, proposito sanctissimus; tantis denique adornatus virtutibus, quantas perfecta & naturâ & industriâ mortalis conditio recipit.* (*Vell. Paterc.*)—With such qualifications he first entered the assemblies of the *Roman* legislature. Even *Tully* (though of the most opposite party) bears the strongest testimony in his favour.—*Tiberius Gracchus, quâ vir gravitate? quâ eloquentiâ? quâ dignitate? nihil ut à patris avique præstabili virtute deflexisset, præterquam quòd a senatu desceiverat.* (*Orat. de Harusp.*)

BUT let us now close the scene; nor presume to offer our sentiments on their following actions; concerning which, the opinions of the best judges are so various. I cannot however avoid to mention the candid sentiment of *Plutarch*, who lived a long time after that the republic and all its parties were no more. His judgment on the whole of these controverted points, will probably appear to you the most impartial and the most satisfactory of any, viz. That however great and glorious the political designs of the *Gracchi* were at first, yet, by the violence of their contention on those subjects, they were worked up to an heat of temper, which was not their usual happy disposition; and were hurried into such actions, into such extremes of government, as were really inexcusable.

BUT

BUT however this may be, yet surely their fatal catastrophe cannot be reflected upon without concern; nor will it be without some tears of compassion, that you will read *Plutarch's* account of the death of *Tiberius Gracchus*, and his still more moving description of that of *Caius*. These will be still more affecting to you, as you intend to peruse each of those accounts *on the very spots*, which were the scenes of each of those sad events. For, I think, my pupil told me, that you intended to read that short account of the death of *Tiberius Gracchus* (the first leisure morning) in one of the porticos of the *Capitol*; and that of *Caius*, in one of the gardens on the *Aventine* hill, from whence there is so near a view of the *Sublician* bridge, and of the rising grounds on the other side of the *Tiber*.

WHATEVER justice there may be in thus shewing some pity to the memories of the *Gracchi*, yet certainly the *public* consideration ought and will affect you infinitely more, while reading the history of those times.

'Tis the cause of mankind which demands your tears.

THE deaths of the *Gracchi* were the first beginnings of all the bloodshed and cruelties of the dreadful civil discords of the inhabitants of this country. All former dissensions, even *that famous secession*

secession to this mount, were pacified and settled without the loss of one life. But now these scenes began to grow more and more bloody. With *Tiberius Gracchus* were slain three hundred *Roman* citizens; with *Caius*, ten times that number: in a few years afterwards began the slaughters of the furious *Marius*, and then all the still more infernal havoc and carnage of the massacres of *Sylla*.

It is this *public* misery that demands your concern, much more than the loss of two or three great men*: in the same manner, as during your residence at *Paris*, tho' you was so justly shocked at the sight of that chamber, where the grey-headed *Coligni* was assassinated†; yet it was not *his* slaughter that struck you with the greatest horror; it was the massacre of those many thousands, which then (near two centuries ago) covered the streets of that city; and the stains of which, no waters of the *Marne* or of the *Seine* will ever be able to wash away.

O my dear *English* brethren, how happy and honourable is it for our country, that notwithstanding its frequent party-dissentions, and some bloody

* The mixture of private interest and ambition, in the characters of the great, often allays that concern which we should otherwise feel for their sufferings.

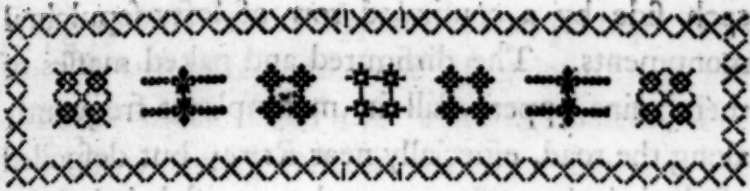
† Hotel St. Pierre, rue Betizi.

bloody civil wars, yet never were the streets and squares of our great metropolis made horrid by such massacres, as are the eternal infamy of its rival cities, modern *Paris*, and antient *Rome*?

FOR such preservation from such misery, may we all be duly thankful! and may peace and happiness, upon the best and surest foundations, be still more and more established among us for all generations! May such be the constant and fervent *prayers* of all of my profession! And may such also be the principal object and aim of all your parliamentary labours! In that august assembly of the *British* legislature, may you be always, like these *Roman* brothers, full of courage for the advancement and support, not of your own fortune, or popularity, but of whatever is truly useful, just, and honourable for your country! But may you also always remember, that (generally speaking) there is not any surer method of doing real service to the public, there is not any wiser method of employing the noblest senatorial talents, than by constantly preserving the peace and calm, and the total interior, as well as exterior, tranquility of our great nation.

END of Book the SECOND.

100. Historical Exercises: Book III.



HISTORICAL EXERCISES:

Being some of the

PRINCIPAL CHARACTERS

IN THE

ROMAN HISTORY.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

TWELFTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

HE design for this next morning was
Egredi portâ Capenâ, & Scipionum, Metel-
lorumque sepulchra visere *. From that
gate for many miles, even almost as far
as *Naples*, the *Appian* way was formerly lined on
VOL. I. N each

* Vid. *Ciceronis* librum de contemnendâ morte: *Tusc. quæst. i.*

each side by a continued row of lofty sepulchral monuments. The disfigured and naked masses of their ruins appear still in many places frequently along the road, especially near *Rome*; but despoiled of all their magnificence, and even of their inscriptions: scarce is there, in regard to most of them, even any tradition remaining of the names of those proudly opulent, and potent *Romans*, to whose memory they were so much in vain erected. The only mausolæum on the *Appian*, which still preserves a great part of its original beauty and dignity, is that of the family of the *Metelli*; the inscription on which indeed is as fresh, as if it had been engraved only a few years past.

It was principally with a design of visiting this most noble monument, which stands like a lofty round castle, some few miles distant from *Rome*, that the company proposed taking their ride this morning that way. *Crito* could not this day accompany them: he was detained by another scene of mortality, by his attendance on the death-bed of a young *English* student in painting.

Far from home, an helpless stranger!

No familiar voice, no parent's eye

Chear'd thy last pangs, O worthy longest days!

The great and wide extended scene of mortality (said *Crito* to his young friends) which you are now going

going to visit on the *Appian*, is not perhaps in itself less instructive, (though less painful) than the office to which I am this morning called. For how many strong reflections on the mortality of whatever is human, and on the equal vanity of the grandeur, whether of the greatest families or of the greatest nations, must necessarily arise in the mind of a traveller, when first passing through that long avenue of ruined sepulchres, which leads to this city, once the seat of the greatest power and pride, though now itself in most parts so desolate, and so deeply buried in its own ruins? Striking as that great *double* spectacle of mortality must necessarily be, especially to such minds as yours, yet you will probably this very morning visit another scene of the same nature still more affecting, and far more awful: I mean the catacombs, (the principal entrance of which is very near the mausolæum of the *Metelli*) that vast subterranean city of the dead, the narrow and silent streets of which spread far and wide under the *Appian* way, and under many other large parts of the *Roman Campania*. About a month ago I made a solitary visit to that place, and indeed past some considerable time in surveying that immense repository of dust and ashes. May that most extraordinary spectacle remain for ever imprinted deeply on my memory, and may it have also its due and equally durable effects on my heart! I sat down in the midst of that gloomy

labyrinth, surrounded on all sides by an infinite multitude of graves, (some of which are perhaps more than two thousand years old) and could not help earnestly wishing, that *Addison* (whose noble reflections on the similar scene of mortality, in *Westminster-Abbey*, you used so to admire, while on that spot) had also, during his residence here at *Rome*, poured forth at large on this far greater subject, the full contents of his exalted and pious mind; and had committed them to writing for the benefit of mankind in general, and in particular of those his young countrymen, who may ever visit this most solemn scene.

WITH what melancholy pleasure will you, my dear poetic friend, (continued *Crito*, speaking to his pupil) recollect there this morning those lines of *Virgil*, the idea of which was probably taken from that very place:

*Matres atque viri, defunctaque corpora vitâ
Magnanimùm heroum, pueri innuptæque puellæ,
Impositique rogis juvenes ante ora parentum :
Quam multa in silvis autumnî frigore primo
Lapsa cadunt folia, &c.*

How will those lines, repeated by you in that place, strike you afresh with the consideration of the uncertainty of the duration even of your youthful

youthful lives *? and what resolutions will rise in your excellent minds to make the most of so uncertain a state, by filling every day of it with the labours of all kinds of the most active goodness, with *whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are of good report, if there be any virtue, or if there be any true praise?*

FROM the catacombs you will gladly ascend into the neighbouring pleasant vineyard, and particularly to that chearful and sunny eminence in it, on which are still to be seen and revered the remains of that famous temple said to be built by your admired *Marcellus*, and so wisely consecrated to the united names of *Honour* and of *Virtue*.

You will also perhaps have some pleasure in reading there this following paper, particularly the conclusion of it: a pleasure greatly increased by the view of the place, in which you may peruse it, whether it be among the venerable and sacred remains of that temple of *Virtue* and of *Honour*, or among those of the mausolæum of the *Metelli*, which (at least as far as regards the memory of *Cacilius Metellus*) is, with so much reason and

N 3

justice,

* This uncertainty is so great, that they, who have exercised themselves in the most moderate computations of this kind, tell us, "That one half of the whole human species, which are born into the world, go out again; and are all dead, in so short a space as the first seventeen years."

justice, erected so very near, and almost adjoining to it.

SAYING this, *Crito* received from the young gentlemen a large and full purse, (to answer the expences of the sickness and burial of their poor young countryman) and delivered to them the following paper.

CECILIUS METELLUS.

CECILIUS METELLUS was a person of very high birth: (the *Metelli* were indeed the most noble family in *Rome*; and it is from them that the royal house of *Great Britain*, as well as the ducal family of *Modena*, now derives its origin) but he was far more illustrious by the true sense which he had of his nobility, and by the proper pride which he always shewed of never doing any thing that was base or unworthy of it.

HIS integrity was untainted, though he lived in an age of great corruption, when most of the other nobles and senators, most of the generals, tribunes, and ambassadors of *Rome*, had made themselves the meanest slaves of avarice and bribery: his character was even then above all suspicion. (*Vid. Cicero orat. pro Balbo.*) How far exalted above that of his countrymen, who were wretched enough

enough almost publicly to receive the wages of perfidy from the hands of the bloody and impious *Jugurtha*, and to patronize his vile and horrid cause? (*Pro alieno scelere & flagitio quasi suâ pro gloriâ nitebantur. Rempublicam enim occupavere homines sceleratissimi, cruentis manibus, immam avaritiâ, nocentissimi, & iidem superbissimi, quibus fides, decus, pietas, postremò honesta atque inbonesta omnia quæstui erant*).

METELLUS, in so degenerate times, was not only inaccessible to all corruption in the senate, but supported the same dignity of character when consul in *Afric*. He carried on with the greatest discipline and diligence that war, which was perhaps the most just and honourable in which *Rome* was ever engaged. He re-established the military glory of his country: (*Nibil enim in Numidiâ Metello infectum erat: quippe qui omnia arma, tela, equos, locos, tempora, denique naturam ipsam cæteris imperitantem, industriâ vicerat*.) He re-established the glory of his country also in another much more important point, shewing to foreign nations that there were still great remains left in it of that honour and integrity, for which it was so much revered in former ages.

Now did the virtues of this great man fail in other trials; for in his office of proconsul of *Nu-*

midia he was persecuted, and at last supplanted by the ingratitude and envy of *Caius Marius*; and on his return to *Rome*, he underwent many other injuries from that famous but wicked man. *Metellus's* great ambition was to labour to make himself the best man in his country: *Marius's* mean ambition was to make himself the most powerful; though by means of such fraud and cruelty, as made him the curse of his own times, and the disgrace of the history of his country for ever. Among many other his violent insults on his country, he obliged all the senators to swear to the observance of one of his decrees, threatening banishment to any that dared to refuse. Of all that most powerful and formerly illustrious assembly, *Metellus* was the only one, who then supported his dignity of character: he chose to suffer any thing, rather than to do so base and unworthy an action: his resolution was fixed in esteeming truth to be the great principle of heroic virtue; and he retired from the forum with these words: That to do ill, was at all times shameful; to do well when it might be done with safety, was common; but to do well, even in the face of danger, was the true character of a really great and good man. When his friends offered to raise in his favour an opposition to *Caius Marius*, he would not hearken to it; nor on any account consent, that for his sake alone the peace of the nation should be disturbed. He chose

chose rather to banish himself; *Patriæ enim salus dulcior illi fuit, quam conspectus.* He however comforted his friends when he took leave of them by saying, Either the face of public affairs here will change for the better, in which case I shall be recalled and restored with honour; or it will remain the same, as at present, and in that case it is surely best to be absent.

HE had now left his country, but in all the places, through which he passed, he was received with the greatest affection and esteem; strong marks of that universal love and reverence, which he had so deservedly acquired. He chose *Rhodes* for the place of his retreat; an island blessed (like our dear *England*) with all the beauties and bounties of nature; the seat at that time of commerce, and of all arts and sciences in their most flourishing degree; and, as *its principal honour*, remarkably abounding with good and wise men. He applied himself to the study of the place, moral philosophy. This employment not only softened the hours of exile, but continually still more and more exalted the nobleness of his mind: full of the spirit of such studies, and of the conscience of his own integrity, he looked down with pity on *Marius*, and on all the vice and seditious turbulence of such *Romans*. *Illi verò* (says he in one of his letters from *Rhodes*)

omni

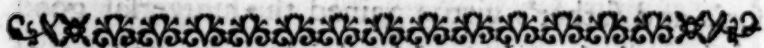
omni jure atque honestate interdicti sunt : ego neque aquâ neque igne careo, & summâ gloriâ fruiscor.

IN a few months however the scene changed again, and his virtue, which had so gloriously triumphed over all temptations and dangers, and which had lately shewn itself so superior to all adversity, was called to the different, and perhaps not less difficult trial of great prosperity. *Sed eundem constat pari vultu & exulem fuisse & restitutum : adeò moderationis beneficio medius semper inter adversas & secundas res animi firmitate versatus est.*

AT his return to *Rome*, he was met at the gates by the senate and people; and entered this city in a manner much more glorious than many conquerors : the greatest and most happy ornament and partaker of this his triumph, was his son : that excellent young man (*memorable for ever for his filial love*) who had, during his father's banishment, constantly wore the deepest mourning, and had been continually and most earnestly soliciting the votes of the people for his recall. He thought no prostrations of body, no profusion of tears too much to enforce this his request, the object of which was much more dear to him than his own life : the tendency and earnestness with which he pursued this sollicitation, prevailed at last over all the power,
and

and over all the persevering malice of *Marius*; the son's and father's virtue gained the universal good will; and the young *Metellus* had the honour of recalling his father from banishment, and was deservedly ever afterwards, even to this day, known by the name of *Metellus Pius*: having thus, by his persevering goodness to his parent when in adversity, gained a much more glorious title, than what any conquest or triumph had ever conferred on any of the other heroes of his family or country.

CHAP.



CHAP. II.

THIRTEENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

THE next morning the young gentlemen called early at *Crito's* lodgings, but were informed that he had set up all night with their sick friend, and was gone to refresh himself by a walk in the *Negroni* gardens, at the foot of the *Viminal* hill. They followed him, and found him there alone before that portico, in which are the two famous statues of *Sylla* and *Caius Marius*.—Little did I expect (said one of the young gentlemen) to have met you in such bad company; especially after your having passed a whole night in so charitable a manner: it still more surprizes me, as you proposed to enter to-day on that character which by all the *Roman* writers, you said, was considered *veluti summum innocentiae, sanctitatisque exemplum*.—I could have wished indeed, (replied *Crito* with a smile) that, instead of *Marius* and *Sylla*, *Metellus* and *Catulus* had been seated on these two curule chairs. If the sculptor's art had been here employed on such worthy subjects; and if, to the statues of these two worthies, had

had been added those also of *Rutilius* and *Scævola*; no academic grove filled with the statues of true philosophers, no senate-house adorned with those of true patriots, would have been more venerable than this small portico. But it was with these two bloody tyrants that *Rutilius* lived; and as long as we remain in this world, we must be content to see bad men mixed with good. The time will soon come, (the hour of death) when they will be separated for ever and for ever. In the meanwhile, what more noble example can we desire for our conduct, (at least among heathens) than *Rutilius*? He lived in the midst of the greatest wickedness, yet never did he abate his goodness, nor degenerate from that happy and exalted state of mind, in which his virtue had placed him. The method, by which he preserved himself from the contagion of such bad examples, is most worthy of our attention: for he was, from his youth, a lover and diligent student, not only of literature, but of virtue: he was, in his youth, placed under the guidance of the most virtuous persons of his times: and afterwards continued always to keep himself connected with good men, and (what is still more importantly beneficial) with good books.

BUT let us, as you rightly advise, turn with abhorrence from these two infernal characters;

Gemina

— *Geminae pestes, cognomine Diræ,
Quas, & Tartaream Nox intempesta Megaram
Uno eodemque tulit partu.* —

Let us enter this solemn and lofty cypress walk ; and fix our thoughts on him, whose memory is, in comparison with theirs, as sweet and balmy, as, in comparison with a sick chamber, this fresh morning-air is, breathing as it does by that fountain, and over that orange-garden, now all in flower.

RUTILIUS RUFUS.

THE Roman history of these ages presents a picture of the strongest lights mixed with the deepest shades. *Nam in hac etiam fæce Romuli, multa extiterunt exempla maximè præclara ;* men so excellent in virtue, *ita vix ut nati, sed quasi ab aliquo Deo fieri esse viderentur, ad ostendendam etiam in tali seculo virtutis speciem & gloriam ;* as if Providence intended thus to keep always alive in the minds of men the sense of goodness, and by such examples reclaim at least some from the general corruption.

AMONG these exalted characters there is not perhaps one of a more majestic and amiable nature, than that of the consul *Rutilius Rufus*. He
had

had indeed taken great pains to perfect himself (if that expression may be allowed) in all kinds of virtue. His youthful years he passed under the direction, and in observing the instructions and examples both of *Africanus Minor* and *Cæcilius Metellus*. His solitary hours he gave greatly to literature, (particularly that of *Greece*) and to that degree as to become the most learned man of *Rome*. He made a very great progress in the study of the laws of his country; but his favourite sciences (which in general are perhaps the most improving, as well as the most delightful of any) were history and moral philosophy. He wrote himself the history of his own country, and the history also of his own life: both of which are unfortunately lost. In the study of philosophy he advanced so far, as to be justly reckoned, both in knowledge and practice, the most perfect of the *Stoics*. Thus prepared, it is no wonder, that, in the employments of the state, (for he rose by his merit to the highest) he had the virtue and happiness to be continually employed in labouring incessantly and indefatigably for the security of his own country, and for the benefit of all mankind.

HE was consul in that year when *Rome* was threatened with destruction by the inundations of the *Cimbri* and *Teutons*; (those types of the *Goths* and

and *Huns*.) Though it was not his fortune to be opposed to them in the field, yet had he the merit of being the great supporter of his country against them. They had lately defeated an army of 80,000 *Romans*, with a slaughter almost equal to that of *Cannæ*, when *Rutilius* formed a power, which supplied that great loss. He levied fresh forces, and disciplined them with the greatest care; as is manifest from his behaviour to his son, whom he obliged to begin his military profession in the very lowest rank; to serve without any indulgence or distinction as a common legionary soldier, in that very army in which his father presided as consul and general; and thus by long practice of obedience to learn how to make himself at length worthy to command.

It is very remarkable, that these new levies received such advantage from the discipline of *Rutilius*, that *Marius* chose them, when he marched against the *Cimbri*, in preference even to his own veteran troops; and with these, joined to those of *Catulus*, he overthrew all the power of that most formidable invasion. For it is to be observed, that *Marius*, though brave and able himself, yet attained all his great fame by the means of the labours of other, and much better men; *Metellus*, *Catulus*, *Rutilius*; (to all of whom he was most ungrateful.) A robbery of glory, which some-

sometimes happens to men of very great and real merit, to teach them to elevate their aims to a much more certain, as well as more noble object, than the praise of mankind.

RUTILIUS, after having done this great service to his country, accompanied *Scævola* to his government of *Asia Minor*, and greatly assisted that excellent man in relieving the miseries of the inhabitants of that large and populous province; which was then *in vain* filled with all the riches and blessings of nature.

It was indeed a most happy omen of the future admirable wisdom and goodness of *Scævola's* government, that he began it by making choice of this his virtuous friend *Rutilius*, as his lieutenant-general and principal counsellor: nor, on the other hand, was it a less honour to *Rutilius* himself, that he was chosen by such a man to be his fellow-labourer in such a work.

WALKING, and reading at the same time, *Crito* had thus far proceeded in his paper, when being come to some antique stone chairs placed in the garden, the company sat down in that spot, (from whence there is a view of the noble northern front of the adjoining church of *Santa Maria Maggiore*) and for some time entered into con-

versation on this most shining part of the history of *Rutilius*.

I HAVE often wished, said one of the young gentlemen, to find some well-wrote treatise on the nature and duties of *provincial* government. How happy would it have been, if *Rutilius*, *Scævola*, or *Pliny*, (who all understood and practised them so well) had left any thing in writing on these subjects? But how happy above all, if the book, wrote expressly on this account by *Tully*, for the use of his brother, had been till now preserved? Such a treatise must surely have been capable of producing great good in those antient times, when the happiness of so many *European*, *Asiatic*, and *African* provinces depended so absolutely on the wisdom or goodness of their governors, the great men of this city. The general precepts of it would also without doubt be in great measure applicable to the *American* governments of modern times; an object, which is justly now every day drawing still more and more attention.

YESTERDAY evening I passed a solitary hour in that magnificent church which is now just before us. The first gold, which ever came to *Europe* from the *West-Indies*, was, it is said, employed in the rich gilding of the inside of that church. While I sat admiring it, I could not avoid thinking how
blessed

Book

blesse
in tha
(if the
had be
and b
might
both o
infinite
own p
particu
wife ne
negro
to our
liberty,
lity of
plying

But
tilius an
may ju
of his t
may be
Roman e

To-m
engaged
talk mor

blessed and heavenly a work might have been done
 in that age of the first discovery of *America*; and,
 (if the *European* governors of those vast provinces
 had been filled with a true spirit) what great honour
 and benefit, and what mutual infinite advantages
 might have been then procured to the inhabitants
 both of the old and new world. Even now, what
 infinite good may be done by the governors of our
 own provinces, in several different respects; but
 particularly by endeavouring, by some good and
 wise new laws, to alleviate the heavy yoke of our
 negro slaves there? But full as we are, in relation
 to our own government, of the noblest ideas of
 liberty, property and the natural rights and equa-
 lity of mankind, how little do we think of ap-
 plying those principles to this case?

But let us return to the government of *Ru-
 tilius* and *Scævola*; which last nobly-spirited man,
 may justly be considered as the bishop of *Chiapa*
 of his times, in the same manner as *Asia Minor*
 may be considered as the *Mexico* and *Peru** of the
Roman empire.

To-morrow, replied *Crito*, when we shall be
 engaged in the life of *Scævola* himself, we may
 talk more at large on this subject. At present, if

O 2

you

* Vide *Ciceronis* orationem pro lege *Maniliâ*.

you please, we will proceed to the other parts of the history of *Rutilius*.

THAT a person of such a character as *Rutilius* should be envied and hated by the bad, is no wonder: but it strongly marks the extreme wickedness and vileness of the *Romans* of his time, that there should be found among them, men so lost to all sense of gratitude and truth, as most impudently to accuse him, before the principal tribunal of his country, as guilty of oppression in the province of *Asia*; him, whose conduct was so remarkably the contrary; him, the history of whose whole life really was in all its parts *exemplum summæ innocentie & sanctitatis*. But the extreme malice of his enemies served only to crown him with still greater honour and happiness.

In the former part of his life, he had always disapproved of the arts of oratory, then commonly made use of, to captivate the minds of those who were placed on the tribunal of justice. *Neque verò solum hæc dixit, sed & ipse sensit, & fecit; in suâ enim causâ non modo supplex iudicibus esse noluit, sed ne ornatius quidam causam dici suam, quàm simplex oratio veritatis ferebat. Imitatus est, homo Romanus & consularis, veterem illum Socratem; qui cum omnium sapientissimus esset, sanctissimèque vixisset, in iudicio capitis ita pro se dixit, ut non*
supplex

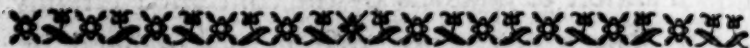
supplex aut reus, sed magister aut dominus videretur esse judicum. Surely never was there a more majestic appearance, than that of these two great men, at the bar either of the *Roman* or *Athenian* tribunal.

NOR are we to look on the sentence of banishment (though most unjustly pronounced upon him) as any thing else than the greatest happiness that could be contrived for him. It is indeed to be observed, that, how contrary soever appearances sometimes may be, yet, on the whole, happiness even here is never lost; it is often encreased, by rigorously adhering to virtue. *Si enim Romam statim secuti sunt casus, ut donatum illi à diis immortalibus exilium esse videretur. Ego enim te, Rutili, cum virtute, tum exilii opportunitate* Οὐδὲν γὰρ ἥσσον. *Nam tibi pro virtute animi constantiaque tuâ civilis ferri subeunda fuit crudelitas, aut si qua te fortuna a cæde vindicasset, eadem esse te funerum patriæ spectatorem coegisset.* That Rutilius was sensible of this his happiness, is manifest by his refusal of the offer, which Sylla made, to restore him; and by his answer to one of his friends, who told him, when he left Rome, as a comfort, *Brevi instore bella civilia, & omnes exules redituros: Quid tibi feci, dixit Rutilius, ut mihi multo pejorem reditum, quàm exitum optares?*

PROVIDENCE indulgently removed him far from these horrid scenes of the tyranny and cruelty of *Marius* and *Sylla**; far from this sad spectacle of the extreme wickedness and punishments of his country. Instead of which, he found himself dwelling in the most beautiful part of the world, the *Asiatic* coast, the country of *Homer*; prosecuting there at ease his literary studies, *ea habuit solatia, quæ non modo sedatis molestiis jucunda, sed etiam hærentibus salutaria esse possunt*. As for his fortune, the loss of his small estate (which was confiscated by his enemies) was abundantly made up by the liberality of his few virtuous *Roman* friends, and by the gratitude of the *Asiatics*. By their gratitude he more abounded in riches, while an exile in *Asia*, than he ever had done, while a consular senator at *Rome*. For never did any prince, resident in his own country, receive stronger marks of public honour, respect, and benevolence from his subjects, than this illustrious exile did from the inhabitants of those regions. (*Rutilio Asiam petenti, omnes illius provinciæ civitates legatos obviam miserunt. Exulare aliquis hoc loco an triumphare justius dixerit?*) Many years did he thus live among them; and when at last that unhappy nation, seduced by the instigations of *Mithridates*, and driven

* Εκτορα δ' εκ βελων υπαγε Ζευς, εκ τε κονιης,
Εκ τ' ανδροτασιης, εκ δ' αιματι, εκ τε κυδοιμν.

driven almost to madness by the continued tyranny of the *Roman* governors, rose in one general insurrection on their oppressors; when in one day all the spacious provinces of that country streamed with the blood of many thousand *Romans*; even in that dreadful scene of general revenge, *Rutilius's* goodness was not forgot; and when every person that bore the name of *Italian*, whether masters or servants, women or children, were without pity massacred, to the number of 80,000, *Rutilius* alone of all his countrymen was suffered to survive. A safety perhaps desirable, not so much in itself, but as it was a distinguishing mark of the great and general love and veneration borne to his character, and as it was consequently some encouragement to others to imitate him, who had been so exemplarily good to those under his care.



C H A P. III.

FOURTEENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

ON the banks of the *Tiber*, near the *Forum*, *Palatine* and *Capitol*, in the place antiently known by the name of *Pulcbri Littoris*, stands to this day the beautiful temple of *Vesta*, built originally by *Numa*, and restored by *Vespasian*. Its noble circular portico is supported by twenty great fluted columns of the *Corinthian* order, all of white *Parian* marble: the temple itself is very small, yet entirely composed of the same rich materials; the several parts of it being so curiously joined, as that the whole originally appeared as one single mass of marble; a circumstance (as one of the young gentlemen observed to his friends) not to be paralleled in any other building at *Rome*.

If the architecture of this temple gave such pleasure to some of the company, *Crito's* pupil was not less agreeably entertained with its situation, and with the several poetic ideas which here rose to his memory. Looking to the river, he
imme-

immediately recollected *Horace's* exact description of this spot.

*Vidimus flavum Tiberim, retortis
Littore Etrusco violenter undis,
Ire dejectum monumenta Regis,
Templaque Vestæ.*

For the opposite bending shoar of this rapid stream is part of *Etruria*, (of which the *Tiber* was the antient boundary) and the adjoining oblong temple of *Fortuna Virilis* * was built by *Servius Tullius*, the sixth king of *Rome*. But with far more pleasure did this young gentleman turn his view, on the other side of this temple of *Vestæ*, towards the pleasant *Palatine* hill, (the solemn ruins of which were now enlivened by the fresh verdure of so many shrubs, all in leaf or flower) and towards the antient square white building of *Janus Quadrifons*, and the circular brick temple of *Romulus*; both of which, at the foot of the *Palatine* hill, remain to this day in great measure entire. It was not indeed without some classical enthusiasm that he then saluted all the objects around him with those lines of *Virgil*,

*Di patrii Indigetes, & Romule, Vestaque mater,
Quæ Tuscum Tiberim, & Romana Palatia servas,
&c.*

Crito

* It is at present used as a *Greek* church.

Crito was as highly satisfied with the view of this temple of *Vesta*, as any of the younger part of the company, though for a different reason. He observed, how much more venerable this sacred edifice of *Numa* was than any other of the antient temples of *Rome*: this was indeed the only one, which never contained any idolatrous representation of the deity; this was always esteemed the most holy place of *Rome*; this place struck awe into the most hardened heart: even *Nero*, in the height of his wickedness and power, trembled to enter into it. (*Tac. Ann. lib. xv.*) *Adiit Capitolium veneraturus Deos; cum Vestæ quoque templum inivisset, repente cunctos per artus tremens, seu numine exterrente; seu, facinorum recordatione, nunquam timore vacuus, &c.*

BUT there is still another reason (continued *Crito*) for considering this place with the greatest respect and awe, viz. That it was the scene of the last hour of one of the very best men of antient *Rome*.

SAYING this, he sat down near the porch of the temple; and (the place being very solitary) he read, without interruption, the following paper.

SCÆVOLA,

SCÆVOLA, *Pontifex Maximus.*

NEVER was there, in the *Roman* state, any office more respectable and venerable than that of the *Pontifex Maximus*; nor ever was there, among the persons invested with it, even from the time of *Numa*, any one who rendered it more august than *Q. Mucius Scævola*. For to the dignity of his high office, he added the still higher dignity of real virtue and wisdom, the dignity of love of justice, and of benevolence to his country and to all mankind. To his extraordinary abilities of mind he joined equal goodness of heart, intrepidity and indefatigableness in doing great and extensive good, and constancy and fortitude in supporting evil. *Vir sanctissimus. atque ornatissimus Romanæ civitatis fuit.*

THE chief men of *Rome* had it in their power to be very beneficent to others, by following that wise custom (which was as antient as the city itself) by which they were all educated in some considerable knowledge of the laws of their country, and in some practice of speaking; so as to be of use in giving advice in numbers of law-cases to many persons and families under their patronage, (which it was their constant custom to do

do *gratis*; in so high a light was the profession of the law originally considered at *Rome**) and to be of further use to them, in protecting them, where justice would allow it, and defending their causes *gratis* also before the public tribunals. The beneficence of this last custom is strongly expressed by *Cicero*: *Quid, inquit, tam regium, tam liberale, tam munificum, quam opem ferre supplicibus, excitare afflictos, dare salutem, liberare periculis, retinere homines in civitate?*

IN each of these branches *Scævola* excelled. With great justice and happiness he mixed and tempered together these two qualifications of jurisprudence and eloquence, so as become in *Tully's* opinion (who was his disciple and scholar) *inter juris peritos eloquentissimus, inter oratores juris peritissimus*.

BUT his love of justice and of beneficence operated much further than the limits (tho' so large) of his own city and country. He accepted the office of governor of *Asia Minor*, on purpose to encrease and extend

* *In civitate amplissimus quisque & clarissimus vir senectutem suam ornabant tali juris interpretatione. Domus eorum, velut aracula erant civitatis, maximâ frequentia civium celebrata. Stipabant illorum fores, ut ait Ennius,*

*Suarum rerum incerti, quos ego ope meâ, ex
Incertis certos, competesque consili
Dimitto, ut ne res temere trahent turbidas.*

extend his power of doing good. The provinces of the empire were, in that age of *Roman* degeneracy, groaning under the heaviest and most shameful oppression. Their governors were far from looking on that their high office (by which so large a part of mankind was most solemnly committed to their care) in its true and noble light. Instead of this, their only view was that mean one of plunder and rapine: they considered their patents of government only as mere licences for repairing their fortunes, broken and ruined by luxury; and for fully satisfying their tyrannical pride and avarice. In vain did the oppressed provincials cry for protection at the tribunals of *Rome*. The judges there were generally persons connected with their oppressors, and deeply stained themselves with the same crimes. For the governors willingly suffered these *Roman* judges to join, by their agents, in plundering the provinces, on condition that they themselves might be mutually protected by them (from all accusations on that head) with the greatest impunity. But how differently did *Scævola* enter on his government? With what indignation did he look down on such leagues of iniquity as these? His maxim of government was, not to be himself burthensome in the least to his provincials, nor to suffer any other persons to be injurious to them. He served this important office *gratis*; never accepting any thing whatsoever from the

Asiatics;

Asiatics; but residing among them, far from his own country, and labouring for their benefit; and in the mean time living *on his own fortune*, eating *his own bread* among them with frugality, contentment, and the greatest joy. The conscience of his own integrity enabled him also most intrepidly to defend the *Asiatics* from other oppressors, and to bring his countrymen themselves to justice. For these proud and cruel men were themselves then brought before the tribunal of *Scævola*, condemned there with the most just and impartial severity, and dragged from thence to prison, or to death, by the hands of the very persons over whom they had so tyrannised. A spectacle, how unexpected, but how welcome to the poor *Asiatics*? A spirit of government, which regained to *Rome* the love of all its provinces and allies, and covered *Scævola* himself with the greatest (though unsought and undesired) glory*.

THE more good that *Scævola* thus did to others, the better was he enabled to bear adversity himself. For the time now drew near when the general

* The *Asiatics*, in honour to his memory, established a perpetual annual festival, called the *Mutian Feast*. (Vid. *Cic. Verres* xi. 51.) *Et in ipsâ etiam Româ, gloriâ maximè illustris erat Scævola, utpote qui provinciam tam sanctè & tam fortiter administrasset. Senatus etiam, magistratibus deinceps in eam provinciam ituris, exemplum atque formam officii Scævolam decreto suo proposuit.*

ral misery, which *Rome* had inflicted on other nations, was to be retaliated on herself. *Marius* and *Sylla* were the dreadful instruments of this divine justice; themselves the most wicked of men, and consequently, the most proper to torment others. In the general punishment of this wicked and hardened city, it is not to be wondered that many good men partook of the general calamity, and suffered in the universal ruin; Providence (in whose hand every instrument is sufficient for every purpose) often by the same instrument, and at the same time, punishing some, correcting others, and thoroughly trying, and consequently most highly perfecting and exalting the characters of the good. — Let us consider in this most just light the massacres of this city, in which multitudes of good and bad men seemed then promiscuously to suffer together. In the eyes of men, all regard to justice and religion seemed then to be overthrown. For how then did *that Forum* appear, surrounded as it then was by temples and tribunals, the most revered seat of justice, of religion, and of all the majesty of the *Roman* empire? (*Nullus enim in illo locus erat, qui non fuit religionis ac deorum plenus.*) On one side of it then appeared *that Capitol*, half of it in ruins and ashes, and in the remaining part (in the very ascent to *that temple of Concord* and of *Jupiter Optimus Maximus*) appeared the tabularia of the empire, covered with

with long bloody proscriptions. Opposite to the *Capitol* appeared *those Rostra*, like a slaughter-house, crouded with heads of many bad, and of many good men, of several in particular who had done great good to their fellow-citizens in that very place.

Simul ora virum præfixa videbant

Nota nimis miseris, atroque fluentia tabo.

The rich pavement of the *Forum* was all stained with blood ; while many mangled bodies were dragged through *these* neighbouring streets, or floated down this stream of the *Tiber*. — How horrid a scene ?

IT was to this very temple, in which we are now sitting, that *Scævola* then retreated ; expecting that perhaps the sanctity of the place, of his office, and above all of his character, might be some protection to him. It is remarkable, that this temple is now (as you see in the inscription on the floor) dedicated to the protomartyr *St. Stephen*.

SCÆVOLA had always acted with the greatest regard to his country, with the greatest firmness and disinterestedness. In the height of his prosperity and power, (when consul) he had opposed the improper exaltation of his friends : (for ill-judged principles of friendship, and consequently the prostitution of the honours and offices of the republic to them,

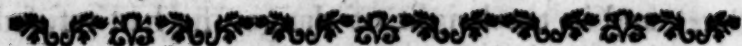
were

were indeed the principal causes of the ruin of the state) and in the height of danger he had refused to enter into the civil wars, or to take up arms against his enemies. He thought it much better to remember always, that he was the high-priest of *Rome*, whose office was to pray for all, to unite and reconcile, to bless and benefit; not to curse or persecute any party. He thought it much better to complete his character, and to die as he had lived. He died on this pavement: he died in the holy vestments of his high-priesthood; and (I hope the presumption of the expression will be forgiven) like another *Zacharias*, the son of *Barachias*, between the temple and the altar.

O my dear young friends! Think not the death of this great man to be a less instructive lesson to you than his life. By such promiscuous slaughter and massacres of the good with the bad, Providence demonstrates to us, that there must be *an hereafter*; and that, in the mean time, it is the duty of us all, to labour, after this example, (as well as after other much greater, and much more holy examples) to be continually doing as much good as possible to others, and patiently to accept and endure whatever evil may in this transitory life be appointed to ourselves*.

VOL. I. P CHAP.

* The family of *Scævola* is said to be still remaining at *Rome*, where the heirs of it bear the name of *Signori Mutii*.



C H A P. IV.

FIFTEENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

AMONG the many noble villas near *Rome*, there is not any one whose gardens give more pleasure, especially to foreigners, than those of the villa *Ludovisi*: and this as well on account of their present beauty, as from the consideration of their having antiently made part of the famous *Horti Sallustiani*. In these agreeable and extensive gardens, this company were passing the following morning, when, after some time, the conversation turned on the works of *Sallust*; and on the characters (several of them drawn by that historian) of the many great men of his times.

How noble an idea, said one of the young gentlemen; (whose thoughts were generally turned on filling, with proper dignity, his family seat in the House of Commons) how noble and how warm an idea rises here to the memory, of that great debate in the *Roman* senate, the account of which *Sallust* perhaps drew up while meditating in

this

this very walk? I mean, that solemn and most important debate, on which the existence of *Rome* depended; and at which so many persons of the highest names in the *Roman* history were at once present; *Catulus*, *Brutus* perhaps, and several others: the division being supported by the greatest eloquence; on one side being headed by *Cato*, and on the other by *Julius Caesar*; *Cicero* himself so nobly presiding as consul in that great assembly, and appearing in the fullest majesty both of an orator and of a patriot.

AMONG all those celebrated names (replied *Crito* with a smile) in whose character would you have chose to have then appeared? As to eloquence, though each of those, whom you have named, were very great in oratory, yet certainly you would give the preference to *Cicero*. And as to patriotism, you would put *Caesar* out of the question, as having no real pretensions to that noble title; notwithstanding all the favourable lights in which the antient owner of this garden has endeavoured to place his character: a partiality arising from a mistaken gratitude for many personal favours received by him from *Caesar*. In patriotism probably, as well as in eloquence, your choice would again fall either on *Cicero* or *Cato*. Indeed those two characters were far superior to all others of their times. As to *Brutus*, the principal

P 2

action

action of his life (that of the slaughter of *Cæsar*) is so undetermined by the various judgments of succeeding ages, whether it was a right, or a very wrong action, that he cannot on this and some other accounts be proposed as a model for our imitation. Let us however dismiss him from our catalogue of *Roman* worthies with honour, with reverence. The noble shade of *Brutus* will not be offended, if we turn our admiration from his memory to that of his friend *Tully*, and father *Cato*.

IN conversing thus, the company arrived at the further end of a winding mossy walk, where they found a most undisturbed recess, thickly shaded with ilex and pine, and ornamented with two antique senatorial statues, one of them consular, but both much larger than usual. Leaning on the base of the senatorial figure, one of the young gentlemen took out a pocket *Sallust*, and read to his friends; not without entering into the warmth and spirit of the orator himself, the speech of *Cato* in that great debate. How could I wish (added he in the conclusion) that I had brought with me here to-day some of *Tully's* works, particularly *Orationes illas Catilinaras tam luculentas tamque utiles republicæ?* We should have had the greatest pleasure in comparing their eloquence with that of *Cato* in *Sallust*; particularly as *Crito* would

would have assisted us with his remarks on them.

FAR be it from me, replied *Crito*, to pretend to judge of the different degrees or kind of merit, either in eloquence or in any other respect, of these two glories of the *Roman* senate. It would be much more useful to us all, and much more suitable to my profession, to study to imitate the virtues of either of them: for certainly whatever great faults may be justly found in each of these characters, (and what characters of the *Roman*, or of the heathen world in general, are to be found unfulled with very great faults?) yet certainly their virtues are of so exalted a nature, as to demand the reverence of any Christian father of the church, and the humble imitation of any father of his country.

BUT if you will please, dear sir, to take your seat between these two *Roman* senators, (and let us imagine, perhaps not falsely, these statues to be those of *Cicero* and *Cato*; at least give me leave to wish that you may take and keep your seat in the *British* senate between such characters) I will desire the liberty to trouble you for a quarter of an hour with some extracts of *Cato's* life; some parts of which, I mean some of the quotations, will be particularly agreeable to you *here*; as perhaps you

may hear them read *on the very spot*, on which *Sallust* composed them*.

C A T O.

PART I.

THERE is not, in the whole *Roman* history, any virtuous character, which has been so highly celebrated either by orators and poets, or by philosophers and historians, as that of *Cato*; nor indeed without reason. *Finxit enim illum ipsa natura ad bonestatem, gravitatem, temperantiam, magnitudinem animi, justitiam, ad omnes denique virtutes magnum hominem & excelsum.* This most noble natural disposition he greatly strengthened and improved, by settling his aim always on one most noble object: for the single object of all the labours of his life, was to sustain himself always in what appeared to him the most exalted degree of virtue. For he condescended not to struggle for the low prizes for which *Lucullus* or *Crassus*, *Cæsar* or *Pompey*, were then contending; in that age of general luxury, avarice, and ambition,

* The four first acts of the Tragedy of *Cato* were composed by Mr. *Addison* during his residence at *Rome*. Is it not probable, that he often on that account visited these gardens of *Sallust*, and composed there some of the most shining passages?

tion, *non luxuriâ certabat cum luxurioso, non divitiis cum divite, non factionibus cum factionoso*; his elevated design was to excel in that, which in itself is most excellent, to copy and surpass (if possible) the best examples in virtue. *Amore sapientiæ, & morali præcipuè philosophiæ, certabat cum sapientibus; virtute certabat cum strenuis, pudore cum modestis. abstinentiâ cum innocentibus.* Nor did he, in this most noble emulation, thirst for the praise of men: *Quamquam enim facta ejus erant bona, divina, egregia; totiusque vitæ suæ maximus fuit splendor & gravitas, tamen esse quàm videri bonus malebat. Itaque quo minùs gloriam appetebat, eo magis illam assequebatur.*

NEVER surely was there any man, to whom his country was more obliged, for the kindest noblest intentions, and most willing labours in her service. We shall have great reason to judge so, if we examine his conduct in the several public characters, which he at different times sustained.

In one part of his life indeed (the most unhappy part of it) he seems to have carried his regard to his country too far. Commanded by his country to carry on a war against the king of Cyprus, he obeyed; unwillingly indeed, and in order to prevent seditions and confusions at home: in this office he restored peace and tranquility at

Byzantium; he endeavoured, as much as he could, to soften the fate of that unhappy prince, against whom he was forced to act; and with the greatest fidelity remitted to *Rome* all the spoils of the war, and all the royal treasures of *Cyprus*; (accepting no share of them for himself, nor any honours; and desiring nothing but the statue of *Zeno*, and the liberty of some of the captives) But yet perhaps all these considerations together will not be sufficient to excuse him for engaging in that affair at all. For how much soever *Ptolemy* might deserve to be punished for his vices, yet surely *Cato* must have been greatly deceived, in thinking that *Rome* had any authority to dethrone him. In all the other actions of *Cato*, his love to his country deserves the greatest commendations.

I. WHEN he was *commanding the Roman armies*, he in that office performed services much more important than the gaining of any victories. Highly esteemed as he was by all men, he was particularly loved and almost adored by the soldiers; for he kept up his authority, but added to it persuasion and instruction. He was continually bestowing either rewards or punishments, according to deserts. Whatever he commanded to be done by others, he himself took part in performing it. In diet and labour he made himself equal to the most common soldier; in love of discipline, in courage and

and conduct, equal, if not superior, to most of the generals of *Rome*. But, what was much more important, he reformed the avarice and cruelty of the army: (so infamous at that time for their oppressions, both public and private, on the country) looking on it as a small matter singly to shew himself virtuous, but endeavouring to make all his soldiers like himself. In a word, he rendered his forces so well disciplined, that it was hard to say whether they were more valiant or just: they were formidable to their enemies, but peaceable and courteous to all others: they were fearful to do wrong; brave and forward to act nobly.

2. *As tribune and as Prætor* he acted with the greatest spirit, the spirit not of turbulent faction, but of eager contention in the cause of liberty and of true patriotism. Conscious of his own innocence and virtue, he was continually stemming and resisting the general luxury and corruption of the times. With the greatest constancy and fortitude he was intrepid in resisting all factions; unmoved by the tumults and violence of the people, and by the threats and hatred of the great, whether separated in their interests, or combined together against him. He was invincible by all temptations which could be offered; and far superior to all the affronts and ridicule that could be endeavoured to be

be cast on him, by those who, at the same time, really most envied his glory.

3. In the tribunals, he was above all influence of corruption or fear: he was respected by all, and dreaded by the criminals, (his severity to whom was really owing to his compassion to the public.) He supported the majesty of the laws above the power of *Pompey*, or the interest of any other great men of *Rome*; and in all things, constantly shewed the greatest attachment to justice and to truth.

4. He bore his loss of the *consulship* with so much magnanimity, as to turn that event to his still greater glory; shewing, that the splendor of virtue was independant of the suffrages of the people, that it was far superior to all honours, and that no popular ignorance or injustice could, in the least tarnish its native lustre*.

5. In the office of *Quæstor*, or manager of the public treasury, he exerted the greatest diligence, abilities, and fidelity; he reduced the national accounts

* *Horace* probably alluded to this, in the following lines of *ode ii. book 3.*

*Virtus repulse nescia sordida
Intaminatis fulget honoribus;
Nec sumit aut ponit secures
Arbitrio popularis auræ.*

accounts (which were in great confusion) into good order; he took care that the public should neither do nor suffer wrong; punctually exacting whatever was due to the treasury; (obliging particularly the blood-hounds of *Sylla* to refund all the spoils of their rapine and cruelty) and with great readiness and dispatch paying all those to whom it was in the least indebted. On the whole, he left the treasury in a flourishing condition, and made it demonstrably appear, how the state may be made rich without oppressing the people.

6. BUT it was *in the senate* that his character appeared in the greatest splendor, not only on account of his eloquence, which was so much admired for its sweetness, and which had such weight in that assembly; but also on account of *his great diligence and application of mind*; without which indeed no strength of genius, no sweetness or charms of language, will ever be sufficient qualifications for any one, who enters in that most noble, but at the same time that most difficult and laborious profession of a senator.

FROM the time that he was first admitted to a seat there, he applied himself *with the greatest industry to the study of that great science*; and was continually employed either in informing himself in some matter of moment, or in doing his duty
in

in communicating his lights to others. *Vigilando, agendo, bene consulendo.* But what chiefly ought to draw our attention, is that exalted majestic *integrity* in this office, which gained him such general veneration while alive; and which for all succeeding ages has made his name the symbol of patriotic virtue. His character was indeed immutably uniform in virtue; he was the same strictly honest upright man *in the senate*, that he was when in his *seat of public justice*. The object of his *senatorial* labours was the same great cause of virtue and of his country, (which two never ought to be separated) which had excited him to such noble actions, when *at the head of the army or treasury*: he was the same unshaken heroic enemy to the corruption of the times, as a *senator*, that he was when *Tribune or Prator*: and let those who look on him as too severe and inflexible in this, recollect, that if there was any fault, the fault was certainly much more in the wretchedness and wickedness of the times, than in the conduct of *Cato*.

Two particulars of his conduct in the senate, will always remain in his history, as the greatest encomiums on his memory: one for his love to his country, in giving so much assistance to *Cicero* in saving *Rome* from utter destruction by the *Catiline* conspiracy; the other, for his justice to the rest of mankind.

FOR

FOR while *Julius Cæsar*, prompted only by his own insatiable ambition, was ravaging and destroying the *Germans* and *Gauls*; (though at that time at peace with the *Roman* state) and when sending an account of all these his bloody victories, he desired the senate to proclaim a public thanksgiving on that occasion; *Cato* moved that the *Roman* state should give up *Cæsar* to the vengeance of those nations, (whom he had so unjustly invaded) and by such a sacrifice, endeavour to expiate the offence of so unjust a war; that however in the mean time the thanksgiving should be observed; as we have great reason, he said, to thank the gods for having as yet spared the commonwealth, nor taken vengeance on our armies for the cruelty and wickedness of our general.

THUS did he behave while the republic stood; but when the civil war (which he had so long foretold, and laboured to prevent) at last broke out, from that day he never cut his hair, or shaved his beard; he was always full of sadness, grief, and dejection for the calamities of his country, continually appearing with the same countenance to the last, whatever party had misfortune or success*: he was
always

* How exactly similar to the character of *Cato* (in these and several other particulars) is that amiable character of Lord *Falkland*, which is described in the 4th and 7th books of Lord *Clarendon's* History of the Civil Wars of Great Britain?

always endeavouring and labouring for peace: most merciful to the provinces which were the seat of the war: (for by his persuasion it was ordered, that during the course of the war, no city should be sacked, nor any *Roman* killed but in the heat of battle) in every engagement acting himself with the greatest bravery, and filling others with a great degree of the same courage; yet never rejoicing for any victory; but immediately, after the obtaining of any success, visiting with tears the field of battle, and there bewailing his country, and cursing that fatal ambition which was thus the destruction of so many of its citizens. In all defeats, he was himself unmoved: but condescending to others who were willing to make their peace with the conqueror; and anxious and indefatigable to his last breath in doing every thing that was in his power to be of benefit to them.

CHAP. V.

SIXTEENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

THERE is not any part of the *Capitoline Museum*, said *Crito's* pupil, more truly noble than this apartment in which we are now entering; this Philosophic Chamber, as it is generally called, from its being ornamented with two such noble ranges of near an hundred antique busts of the learned men of *Greece*, particularly the philosophers of *Athens*. I came here alone yesterday afternoon, and read, in this apartment, part of *Milton's Paradise Regain'd*. It was indeed with the greatest pleasure that I then considered myself as present, not only

*On the Tarpeian rock, the citadel
Of great and glorious Rome, queen of the earth,
So far renown'd, and with the spoils enrich'd
Of nations;*

But what is a much more pleasing idea,

Ω χαιρε' Αθηνων, χαιρε φιλτατη παλις,

Athens,

Athens, the eye of Greece, mother of arts,
 Of eloquence, and sage philosophy,
 From heav'n descended to the low-rooft house
 Of Socrates! —

Saying this, he approached the bust of *Socrates*, which is placed near that of *Homer*, fronting the entrance. — How deservedly (continued he, addressing himself to one of his young friends) may the busts of these two great men claim their station in all such Musæums as this, one at the head of all the philosophers, the other at the head of all the tragic and lyric poets of *Greece*? These two indeed gave breath to all the rest. How fortunate is the education of those young men, who in poetry chiefly study the one, in philosophy the other of these most exalted geniuses?

THINKING of this, I was highly pleased just now, when, in passing through the first apartment of this *Musæum*, you stopt to admire the elegant design of that marble sepulchre found in the villa of *Alexander Severus*: at one end of which is *Homer* receiving his book from the genius of poetry; at the other, *Socrates* attending to the instructions of a veiled figure, which leans on a column, and represents moral philosophy; the whole front of the monument being filled with the statues of the nine *Muses*, all of the finest sculpture.

WHILE

WHILE you were so happy here yesterday in the company of *Milton*, (said *Crito*) I was not less so at home in that of *Xenophon*. You left your *Xenophon* on your table, open at the conclusion of one of his *Socratic* discourses. I could not help reading with great pleasure the last sentence in it, which breathes such grateful affection to the memory of his beloved master, exceeded only by a still greater love and thirst of virtue. Εγω μὲν δὲ κατανοῶν τὸν ἀνδρὸς τήν τε σοφίαν, καὶ τὴν γενναϊότητα, οὐτε μὴ μνησθῆναι δυναμαὶ αὐτοῦ, ὅτε μνησθεὶς μὴ ἔκ ἐπαίνου. Εἰ δὲ τις τῶν ἀρετῆς ἐφιεμένων ὠφελιμωτέρῳ τινὶ Σωκράτους συνέγενετο, ἐκείνου ἐγὼ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς Αἰσιμακαριστότατον νομίζω. Nor could I help reflecting then; (it ought not to have been without due gratitude) that we are all blessed with *that high happiness*, the idea of which *Xenophon* regarded with such admiration, and with a desire which seems to have something of divine inspiration. We have all of us an instructor and leader in the path of virtue *far superior* to *Socrates*. Let us then make the best use of all these lights so graciously bestowed on us: in the study of ethical institution from the moralists of *Greece*, let us principally confine ourselves to the study of the doctrines of the benevolent and humble *Socrates*: in a far superior study, let us apply ourselves principally to learning and imbibing the character and temper of its original, its most beneficent, and most humble, though most DIVINE founder.

founder. Happy, *truly happy*, those whose education is founded *on these two bases!*

BUT at present let us have the pleasure of following you round this room, and of making with your *Milton* a short visit to these several philosophers, who were all men of great genius, though far inferior to *Socrates* who was the first and wisest of them all. — Saying this, and passing by *Epicurus*, he stopt a considerable time before the busts of *Aristotle* and *Plato*: but the attention of the company was now drawn by *Zeno's* statue, which (as his sect antiently did at *Rome*) rises here high above all the rest. This noble statue, the most remarkable piece of sculpture in the whole apartment, was found in the ruins of the villa of *Antoninus Pius*, and is perhaps the same which *Cato* brought from *Cyprus*.

How happy would it have been for that nobly-spirited *Roman* (said *Crito*) if he had chose as his chief and best instructor, not *Zeno*, who was the father only of the stoic sect, but *Socrates*, who was the father of all the moral philosophy of *Greece*? — Saying this, he desired leave to add some reflections to the life of *Cato*, with which he had yesterday troubled them, when in the gardens of *Sallust*.

C A T O.

C A T O.

PART II.

THE character of *Cato* is so great, that, in forming a catalogue of the greatest *Roman* worthies, he could not with any propriety be omitted. At the same time the truth of history will oblige us to own, how much, in several particulars, this great man was misled. Nor let this be too much looked upon as a derogation from the honour due to his memory : let us attend to what *Cicero* says on this subject. *In Marco Catone hæc bona quæ videmus divina, egregia, ipsius scitote esse propria. Quæ nonnunquam requirimus, ea sunt omnia, non à naturâ suâ, sed a magistro. His enim tot tantisque ejus virtutibus accessit adjumentum doctrinæ non moderatæ, neque mitis, (like that of Socrates) sed asperioris ac durioris. Stoicorum scilicet disciplinam, auctoribus eruditissimis inductus, arripuit ; Et talium præceptorum (Zenonis præsertim, summo ingenio viri, magistri sui) studiis flagravit. How much was it to be wished, ut ad alios magistros aliqua te fortuna, Cato, cum illâ naturâ detulisset ?*

THE great objections to *Cato's* conduct are, that there are in it too many marks of harshness and severity, of pride, and want of condescension

in accommodating himself to those customs and manners of the age, which in themselves were indifferent; add to this some great errors in family life, and above all that unhappy catastrophe of his last hour, so much inferior to that of the pontifex *Scævola*, or to that of *Regulus* in that same *African* country. But, on the other hand, how many proofs are there found in his history, which evidently shew, that, as *Tully* says, *hæc omnia non a naturâ suâ erant?* His nature, though full of spirit and resolution, was far from wanting either tenderness or mercy. This is plain from his conduct during the civil war, and from many other of his actions; for he was constantly disinclined to all unnecessary punishments: he always shewed the greatest gentleness, courtesy, and good-nature to all in private life*: his purse and lands were constantly devoted to the service of his friends, and for their security and happiness he laboured most anxiously both in body and mind to the last breath. The sweetness of his temper is above all most visible in that extreme fondness and regard which he bore to his brother, and which was continually increasing even from his most early years. Never indeed was there a more amiable and beautiful

* *Eâ conditione Cato nobis in hac civitate natus est, ut ejus opes & ingenium, præsidio multis etiam alienissimis, vix cuiquam inimico exitio esse deberet.*—*Bona M. Catonis, quæ ille adeptus est, ut multis prodesse posset.* Orat. pro Murenâ.

tiful scene of that love, that fraternal love, which is perhaps in all men one of the greatest marks of a good heart, as well as of a good understanding.

As to pride, he certainly was utterly averse to all flattery; he often refused honours, and that from a motive of real humility; for when every one thought him worthy of the highest honours, he alone was of the contrary opinion. As to want of condescension in accommodating himself to the times, he certainly often shewed great wisdom in yielding, as far as he thought he might, in order to prevent greater evil: and as to the dismal and never too much lamented end of his life, (so unworthy of his former fortitude and virtue) it is to be considered that the principles of self-murder always originally rise from the passion of fear; fear either of shame, or of pain, want, &c. a passion which was surely never a part of *Cato's* natural constitution. To whom then are all these stains in the life of *Cato* to be attributed, but to his instructors the *Stoics*? by whose writings all these are inculcated as virtues. Nor let us however, at this same time, omit to do proper justice even to the *Stoics* themselves; many of their doctrines are very noble, very exalted: many of their examples deserve our study, deserve our imitation. But at the same time let us again and again bless Providence

dence for having assisted us with other examples far more perfect than any of these *Roman* worthies; (the characters of whom are all in several respects deficient) and with other instructions, far more wise and complete than this *Grecian* philosophy; which thus abounded with great errors, mixed with great wisdom; and taught great vices, mixed with great virtues. It seems indeed something very remarkable, that the *Stoic* discipline was at that very time in its highest glory, most honoured in the world by the most learned writers, *Seneca*, &c. and thus most strongly exemplified by *Cato* and other the greatest characters in the greatest nation that ever existed; and on the whole appearing as the highest degree of dignity, to which human virtue could possibly exalt itself; (such was the ignorance even of those learned ages) when on a sudden (in the reigns of the first *Cæsars*) a far superior light began to dawn from heaven; the light of Christian morality.

THE Christian character indeed is not only more noble, more grand and awful than any imagined perfection in this so much celebrated philosophy; but at the same time has a grace, amiableness, and beauty, which never adorned any stoic vision. Much fuller is it than stoicism, of the spirit of true justice; but infinitely fuller of benevolence and mercy. Fuller of the spirit of just
inflexibility

inflexibility in what is right; but still more full of condescension and sweetness. Fuller of fortitude, but infinitely more abounding in patience, in true wisdom, in resignation, and in the highest most unextinguishable hope. Greater as to exaltation of mind, but infinitely greater in the deepest humility, and in the most grateful acknowledgment that all its virtues are the gifts of the grace of heaven.



CHAP. VI.

SEVENTEENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

THE next day, being Whitfunday, the study of *Roman* antiquity and history were suspended. *Crito* however informed his young friends, that on the Monday morning, if they had no objection, he should be glad to visit with them that part of the *Palatine* hill, where it is supposed that the house of *Cicero* once stood; that house of patriotic virtue, of eloquence and philosophy. That in the mean time, during the solemnity of this day, it would be his duty to wish, that in their future high office of *British* senators, they might always be attended and assisted by the two great gifts of this day, persuasiveness of language, and the most exalted integrity of heart, joined to the greatest boldness, and most fervent zeal of doing good.

ACCORDINGLY the next morning, on entering the northern part of the *Farnese* gardens, (which cover the summit of mount *Palatine*) *Crito* found his beloved company all arrived there before him. One of them was seated on a projecting part of the

the hill, and from thence taking a view, and drawing a design of the narrow valley of the *Forum Romanum*, which lay under him, and of the opposite *Clivus Capitolinus*. His pupil was leaning against a cypress, and silently perusing the beginning of the third book of *Tully de Oratore*. The third young gentleman was walking with a volume of the Orations in his hand, and sometimes reading aloud the most favourite passages, being all inflamed with those raptures, which surely there is no place in the universe more proper than this to excite in the breast of a young patriotic orator.

O MY dear *Crito*, said he, how often have we, while at *Westminster*, wandered about the great hall of the tribunals of *England*, and about the avenues of both the houses of the *British* parliament; thinking on the names of those great men, who in each of those venerable edifices have in several successive ages, by their wisdom and eloquence, by their justice and integrity, done such service and such honour to our country? A scene of the same nature, and of at least equal dignity, is now before our eyes. See there the high brick walls of the *Rostra* still remaining! See those several stately marble columns still standing, which formerly supported several of the senate houses of *Rome*! In this very part of this garden, where we
are

are now conversing, were situate the houses of *Hortensius*, *L. Crassus*, and *Catulus*; nor is there one spot all around, on which you can stir one step, where all your admired patriots have not trod: there is not one of the temples in the prospect before us, in which *Cato* has not harangued the *Roman* senate: there is not here any space either of earth or air, which has not often resounded with the eloquence of *Tully*.

THIS young gentleman now proceeded to repeat to *Crito* some of the shining periods of that great orator; *Crito* listened to him for a considerable time with great attention and pleasure; and then (being never willing to interrupt the satisfaction of any part of the company) they both turned to the other young gentleman, and admired all the merit of his drawing of the view of that most famous and venerable scene. *Crito* then turned round, and sat down under the cypress, and dropt a silent tear with his pupil in looking on the walls of the neighbouring *Rostra*, on which were exposed the mangled remains of one of the principal speakers in *Cicero's* treatise *de Oratore*, and also (in a most remarkably * similar manner) of *Cicero* himself.

IN

* *In his ipsis rostris, in quibus ille rempublicam constantissime consul defenderat, positum caput illud fuit, à quo erant multorum civium capita servata.* De Oratore, lib. iii.

IN a little time the company laid aside their books and pencils; desired *Criso* to remember his own papers; and were informed by him, that he had indeed prepared two distinct papers for their perusal; but that he had also the pleasure to be able to say, that both of these were almost entirely extracted from that life of *Cicero*, which in *Germany*, *Italy*, and *France*, they had heard so much commended, as a work that did high honour to one of our *British* universities.

C I C E R O.

PART I.

IT is a considerable mark of goodness of heart, and strength of understanding, (and is indeed at the same time a very useful method of improving both these qualities) if, in examining any very great and exalted character, we observe indeed its defects, but yet dwell not too much on them, nor regard them in the most unfavourable light; but candidly consider the whole character together, and then apply our attention more particularly to the study of those parts of it which are the most noble or beautiful.

THE character of *Cicero* has for many ages drawn the attention and admiration of all mankind. Let us not lose our time in perversely looking for

for imperfections in it, but let us endeavour to improve ourselves as much as we can by diligently studying and imitating its greatest real excellencies. Let us consider, that in one of the most corrupt ages that ever was known, he was totally free from any stain of luxurious debauchery, or of avarice. And as to pride, (the third great vice of those times) he certainly had nothing of that cruel pride, which was the occasion then of so much misery to *Rome*, and many other nations. He was not proud of any actions that were vicious or hurtful to others. He was not proud of riches or power. If he was vain, he was vain of great abilities of mind, which he really possessed; and which he constantly and indefatigably employed for the benefit of others. He was proud, not of the ignorant applauses of the multitude, but of the well-weighed approbation of the wise and good. He was proud of a good conscience. *Præclarâ conscientiâ sustentabatur, cum cogitavit se de republicâ aut meruisse optime aut certè nunquam nisi divinè cogitasse.*

IN private life he bore envy to none: he willingly gave praise to all who deserved it. (For you never will bear envy to the virtue of others, as long as your heart and conscience continue to bear witness to you of your own virtue.) He was a kind and generous master; an excellent father; grateful
to

to his benefactors; sincerely zealous for the good of his friends, whether they were in prosperity or in adversity. His whole works are full of these noble sentiments, and his whole life full of examples of them.

As to public affairs, he loved his country; he always laboured to support its antient constitution and liberty. He often shewed the greatest intrepidity in resisting all attempts of its enemies. Sometimes indeed he seems to have been silenced and over-awed. Perhaps this might be partly weakness; partly perhaps he might be of opinion that he was really serving his country by suspending sometimes all useless opposition to the irresistible power of the usurpers of the national authority; (like what is said to have been, on similar occasions, the conduct of our own great Lord Chief Justice *Hale* *) and that it was more patriotic, as well as prudent, to soften them by patience and submission; and by such proper management (if possible) to conduct them into some such train of thoughts and actions, which might produce something considerably beneficial to the public.

BUT the most fair method of judging of the political character of *Cicero*, is to examine how he behaved when he himself was in power: and it is indeed at those times, that the real splendor of his character

* Some short account of this great *British* character will be found in the Appendix to this volume.

character shone forth in its true lustre: at those times indeed, his appearance in the history of his country discloses itself with as much dignity, as attended the founder of the *Roman* empire when (according to the description of *Virgil*) he discovered himself in the fullest majesty before the grand tribunal and assembly of the senate of *Carthage*,

*Scindit se nubes, & in æthera purgat apertum:
Restitit Æneas, clarâque in luce refulsit,
Os humerosque Deo similis.*

Invested and intrusted with the high offices of the *Roman* republic, how richly endued did he appear with those two most noble qualifications of all ministers of state, love of his country, and love of all mankind? With what patriotism and philanthropy did he fill all the time of his great government in *Asia*? which office (though he had before in his youth behaved so well in his government of *Sicily*) produced indeed a very considerable accession of new glory to his character. For he trod diligently in that path of integrity, which was marked with the footsteps of his beloved and ever honoured master *Scævola*; and, like him, left to all his successors in that country an example of the greatest justice and goodness in the execution of that high public trust. He principally gave his attention to relieve the grievances of the province,
by

by lightening that heavy load of debts, with which the avarice of his predecessors had incumbered it, and by remedying all the other evil consequences of their bad government. The *Asiatics*, who had joined with the former governors in oppression and plunder of their country, were by *Cicero* obliged to refund whatever they had thus extorted. He protected the province also from all *Roman* oppressors; from some in particular who were of the highest rank in *Rome*, and otherwise greatly connected with himself. Nor was he less diligent in averting other evils rising from other causes, particularly the scarcity of provisions, which at that time afflicted *Cilicia* and *Cyprus* almost like a famine; and in preparing with great spirit to defend the frontiers against the threatened and then most formidable invasion of the *Parthians*. He permitted to the natives of his whole province, the use of their own laws. He was kind and affable at all times to all: indeed the spirit of every part of his government was, like that of every other part of his life, most mild and merciful, though at the same time very prudent and very active. Nor he was less remarkable for his noble disinterestedness; for as he supported the dignity of his office of proconsul liberally, not sumptuously, he had no temptation to fraud or rapine: he was able to decline accepting any of the immense perquisites, presents, contributions, &c. with which his predecessors had

so disgraced their administration. He accepted only the most just and moderate dues of his office; and even from those his lawful appointments he bestowed several thousand pounds to the relief of distressed particulars or communities in his government; and at his departure refused to accept of all honours of statues, &c. as well as of that great free-gift offered to him voluntarily by the province, as a mark of their gratitude, and which is said on the whole to have amounted to upwards of two hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling.

As to the great offices of state with which he was intrusted here at *Rome*, one instance will be abundantly sufficient to demonstrate the excellence of his wise and good administration. I mean that ever-memorable year of his consulship, when by such extraordinary vigilance, prudence, and magnanimity, he dispersed and utterly defeated that powerful conspiracy, which was so near, not only overturning the constitution and public liberty, but of totally destroying and extirpating this mighty city itself.

O my dear countrymen, if we have any spark of real patriotism in our breasts, how ought they now to burn?—Directly on this very angle of this hill, on which we stand, was the house of *Tully*; to which (on the evening of the defeat of the conspiracy)

spiracy) he was so honourably conducted from that *Capitoline* hill across this very valley of the *Forum*, by a general procession of the senate and people of *Rome*, all with the acclamation of many thousand voices, proclaiming him the general deliverer. But look at those three lofty columns of the temple of *Jupiter Stator*! it was there that *Cicero* confounded all the fierceness of the conspirators by the thunder of the first *Catilinarian* oration. Look at that still remaining portico of the temple of *Concord*! there all the glory of *Tully* was compleated and crowned; when, in full senate there assembled, *Catulus* and *Cato* both in so solemn a manner saluted him with the highest stile and title of *Father of his country*. *Salve, Cicero; primus omnium Pater patriæ appellatus**!

How awful a ceremony was that? How august a spectacle? — O my dear poetic friends, how happy would you be to repose for some hours under the shade of these cypresses, if the genius of the place would condescend to bless your slumbers with some dream, reviving in your imagination the antient grandeur of this part of *Rome*, and

VOL. I.

R

above

* The first *Catilinarian* oration was spoken in this temple of *Jupiter Stator*. (Vid. the last paragraph in that oration.) The second and third from the *Rostra* in the *Forum*. The fourth probably in the temple of *Concord*: which was the most usual place of the assemblies of the senate during these *Catilinarian* troubles.

above all representing in true and full vision some of these most awful and most august scenes?

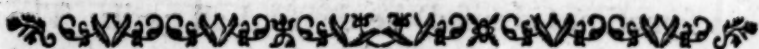
BUT let us, as well as our heated imaginations will permit, return to our history. — Soon after the death of *Julius Cæsar*, (but with what eager attention did you lately at the *Palazzo Spada* view the identical colossal statue of *Pompey*, at the foot of which that usurper fell?) *Cicero* again exerted himself in the same noble manner. With the universal consent and joy of the people, he accepted the management of the government, then in extreme danger; and laboured in forming and executing such a plan of policy, as seemed most likely to save the sinking state*. At least it was to his councils, and to his authority, that *Rome* owed that last effort, which was then made for her liberty. With great resolution he resisted *Anthony*, (a tyrant much worse than *Julius Cæsar*;) with great wisdom he converted *Hirtius*, *Pansas*, and other powerful men to the cause of their country, (which also he hoped to do with *Octavius*) and directed and united all their power to his designs for the public good. He endeavoured to restore general concord and quiet among all parties, by wisely proposing a general act of oblivion for all that was past. Far was he from being discouraged by the great dangers which he saw impending over his head; he knew

not

* Vid. *Middleton's History of the Life of Cicero*.

not now the sense of fear; (of which weakness he was sometimes accused) he despised all perils. The government was in his hands; and he supported it with the same wisdom, with the same heroic intrepidity, which he had shewn in the times of *Catiline*. *Nullum locum prætermisit monendi, agendi, providendi; hoc denique animo erat, ut si in hac curâ atque administratione vita illi ponenda erat, præclare actum secum putavit.*

SUCH indeed was his fate; and most happy and honourable may we justly esteem it. For let us look round on the other great men of those turbulent times, (who indeed almost all died a violent death) and compare their last hour with that of *Cicero*. *Pompey's* death is indeed a striking lesson of the instability of the greatest human grandeur and power; but yet does not confer any honour on himself; it being uncertain, whether he was brought to that catastrophe by the spirit of love to his country, or by that of mere and mean private ambition. *Cæsar* and *Crassus* died in a bad cause: *Cato* and *Brutus* in a bad manner. *Cicero* died undeniably in the cause of his country: he shewed however his regard to his real duty, by declining death as far as he might; but when the last stroke came, he met it with joy and fortitude equal to any of the above-mentioned, or any other of the most celebrated heroes of *Rome*.



C H A P. VII.

EIGHTEENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

ABOUT ten miles south of *Rome*, the *Campania* is terminated by the *Tusculan* hills : on the side of these are still shewn to travellers the remains of two antient buildings, both of which are said to have belonged to *Cicero* ; one called *Grotta Ferrata*, at present a *Greek* monastery ; the other much higher up the hill, situate half way between the most pleasant town of *Frescati*, and the rocks and ruins of the most antient and lofty city of *Tusculum*. No walk can be more pleasant than the ascent from *Frescati* thither, through the groves and by the numerous cascades of *Villa Pamphili* ; on one side of which, towards the plain, appear the beautiful shades and streams of the gardens of *Villa Conti*, formerly the habitation of *Lucullus* ; and on the other side, the laurel walk leading to the steep hill of *Monte Portio*, the family seat of *Cato*. But far elevated above all is that venerable open grove of lofty pines, which crowns the ridge of the *Tusculan* mountains, and shades the spot where *Cicero's* villa and rural

Lycæum

Lyceum once stood. In the field on the side of this grove, are still to be seen many marks of terrasses, and (unhurt by the plough *, tho' level with the turf) a large and broad Mosaic pavement, still entire : probably that of the library itself of *Cicero* ; the center of it being ornamented with a large design of the head of *Minerva*. On arriving here, the young gentlemen immediately knelt down, and kissed the pavement.

How grand and how delightful is the situation of this library ? (said one of the young gentlemen) and how properly adapted to the character of its great inhabitant ? who, though the most studious and most learned man of his time ; yet never, amidst all the pleasures and all the labours of his studies, forgot his favourite object in them all, beneficence to *Rome*. For if from this library on one side so solemn a prospect opens itself towards the south over the forests of *Algidum*, the mountains and lakes of *Alba*, and the sea coast quite to the woody island of *Astura*, where *Cicero* had another residence designed for still more retired study ; on the other side, towards the north, he always had here before his view *Rome* ; (the magnificence and splendor of which is even now so widely spread

R 3

over

* Εὐδ' ὅτε ποίμιν ἀλίοι φέρβειν βότα
Οὐ δ' ἤλθε πῶ σιδυρῶ.

EURIPIDIS *Hippolytus*.

over the *Campania* before us) with all those great works of public utility, those many grand and everlasting paved roads; and those many long and lofty aqueducts, which (like his designs) stretch from all sides across this vast plain to their great and common center.

CRITO turned with a look of admiration and love to this young gentleman; and how happy should we have been, he said, if (after you had finished yesterday afternoon your drawing of the temple of *Concord*) you had favoured us with your company at our lodgings? Your loving and deserving young friend (I know not whether to call him my pupil or my tutor) was then assisting me in preparing and finishing this paper for your perusal here this morning. He shewed me several passages, proving that *Tusculum* had always been the favourite seat of *Tully*, from which he wrote with the greatest pleasure several of his epistles, in which he composed with the greatest spirit several of his orations, and which he made the scene of several of his rhetorical and philosophick dialogues: particularly of those two, (the most principal perhaps of each kind) which compose the books *de Oratore*, and the *Tusculan Questions*. So fond indeed was *Tully* of this place, as frequently to dwell with pleasure on the description of the persons and places in its neighbourhood. *Monte*

Portio

Portio was (as my pupil observed to me) the farm of *Cato* the elder, the principal speaker in the dialogue *de Senectute*. At *Villa Conti* was that famous library of *Lucullus*, which is made the scene of the dialogues in the third and fourth books *de Finibus*, and in which these two illustrious country neighbours, *Cicero* and *Cato* the younger, then, and probably often, met. *Ibi Catonem sedentem inveni, multis circumfusus libris: erat enim in illo aviditas legendi, neque satiari poterat: Et malumus, mihi dixit, hunc puerum Luculli, (the pupil of Cato and Cicero) his libris potius quam omni reliquo villæ ematu delectari.*

BUT let us set down, and rest our bodies and minds in this solemn place; the library not of a *Lucullus*, but of a *Cicero*.—No pine grove of *Diana*, no fane of *Minerva* was ever half so awful as the apartment, of which this pavement is supposed to have made a part. But (pardon me for this fancy) how much still more venerable ought the place of study to be esteemed of those good and wise Christian philosophers of our own country, *Locke, Addison, Boyle, Newton*? What honour would it be to our own country, if those apartments were preserved with as much care, as the house of *Erasmus* is in *Holland*? I never indeed enter the library of a wise and good man,

without feeling some kind of secret awe. Wise and good study is justly esteemed, next after prayer, the highest exaltation of the human mind : and consequently the library of the virtuous man, is, next after the church in which he prays, the most venerable and sacred place.

NOR is it only by wise study that it is thus, as as it were, consecrated ; in it are all his works of public and private beneficence generally planned : in it are the virtues which he owes to himself, continually examined and enlarged : from it, his most private and most fervent devotions are daily ascending to heaven.

Balm of the mind ! hail, studious solitude !

*O bring with thee calm peace, wise piety !
Bring self-correcting, still improving virtue !
Bring charity, for ever meditating,
To all in just degrees most spreading highest good.*

*Hail ! sacred solitude ! thou from eternity
Wast present at the glorious throne of God ;
And in his bounteous mind revolving saw
Creation's plan : how vast ! how wise ! how good !*

Inhabitant

*Inhabitant of heav'n, and friend of man,
With all thy kindred virtues, O descend!
And if ought human might become thy train,
Let fairest science on thy footsteps wait.*

BUT let us lower our thoughts to our present subject. The character of *Cicero* is before us. How great, yet how imperfect! But it is no wonder that the most exalted characters of *Rome* and *Greece* should be all so imperfect, and so inferior in goodness to the exalted characters of modern times, considering the infinite disproportion * between their religion and ours. Let us then lower our thoughts from the great ideas of Christianity to those of *Cicero's* nation and times.

CICERO.

* Among other great differences, one of the principal is the Christian doctrine of humility; known but little to the heathens; but in reality the true foundation of the most exalted thoughts and noblest actions; and the true beginning, middle, and ending of all knowledge, of all glory, and of all virtue.

C I C E R O.

PART II.

*Quid dedicatum poscat Apollinem
Vates? Quid oret, de paterâ sacrum
Fundens liquorem?*

WHAT ought to be the *principal* wish of a young man, who has already had the happiness of being entered into a course of good education? For what blessing may we suppose *Tully* in his youth to have *principally* petitioned at the shrine of *Apollo*, of this his favourite patroness *Minerva*, or of any other of those deities, who were imagined graciously to preside over the improvement of the human mind?

For the spirit of diligence and industry.

A gift far superior even to that great one of genius. Studious diligence is indeed the great principle of growth in the human understanding; which it is continually forming, filling, and spreading; correcting and healing whatever is amiss in it; guarding it from all harms, from all unnecessary cares; supplying its defects; and improving, exalting, and perfecting all its excellencies.

SUCH is it to the mind; nor is it really an enemy to the health of the body, especially when attended

attended by temperance and moderate exercise; each of which indeed greatly strengthens our mental as well as corporeal frame.

As to its effects on other objects, industry (we see continually) is able to perform great things, even when it is not much assisted by natural abilities. But when it is assisted by such in any *great* degree, then it is very difficult to say, to what it will not be able to attain; to what degree of glory it may not exalt its possessor; and (which is infinitely of more consequence) what degree of good it may not enable him to accomplish in the world.

If we look on the life of *Tully*, we shall find it full of labour and industry: his indefatigable application far surpasses what we generally conceive of study, and indeed seems almost incredible. It is said, that the time which other young men of his age gave up to pleasure and diversions, was by him regularly added to his studious hours. It is said, that he never gave up one leisure hour to absolute idleness: all the intervals of his great labours being generally applied to some other good purpose. Let us not be terrified and disheartened at the description of such diligence: but let us reflect that it was by this so careful management of his time, that every day was
made

made to produce some valuable addition to the vast fund of his knowledge, and to bring some increase to the extent of his great power of doing good : that it was by these means that he was enabled to reach his so surprizing and so various attainments, to do so much good by his *political* labours, and at the same time to become far the most eloquent *orator*, and also the most learned and most wise *philosopher* of his times : besides making himself master of so many other sciences.

As to his *eloquence*, (in which he was so great, that, as *Quintilian* observes, *id est consecutus, ut Cicero jam non hominis, sed eloquentiæ nomen habetur*) it would be very presumptuous to attempt to make any observations here. It is from his orations themselves that the best ideas can be formed of it: to these let us join his rhetorical works; (which are the best *instructions* in oratory, as his orations are the best *examples*) and may the youth of our country be so happy, as to apply themselves with pleasure to the study of each of these ! from each may they be so fortunate as to acquire some of the talents of eloquence, (so useful as well as honourable qualifications in an *Englishman*) and employ them afterwards in the best manner, whether it be in the service of the state, or in the service of justice or religion !

WE

WE cannot however here avoid remarking, how powerful an instrument *eloquence* was when wielded by the hands of *Tully*, for the service of his country, or for the benefit of his friends. His employments in the *Forum*, as an orator, were not carried on with a spirit of less nobleness and benevolence, than those in the senate. For he was continually employed in defending the fortunes, liberties, and lives of his unfortunate fellow-citizens: his constant business there was to *defend*. During all the years of his attendance on the profession of the *Rostra*, he never passed one month without having been a great benefactor to some person, some family, some community or city. *He never accused but one person*, that is, *Verres*. He observed the generous customs and laws of his country, in never demanding any fees from his clients; he never accepted from them any presents, but once, which was in the same cause of *Verres*; and then he distributed it as soon as received, immediately and totally in works of charity.

BUT the fruits of the diligence of *Cicero*, which are in themselves the most noble as well as the most universally and lastingly beneficial to the world, are his *philosophical* works.

ROME, though at that time far superior to all the other nations of the earth, in power and dominion,

minion, yet was comparatively very deficient in knowledge; particularly in the knowledge of what is the summit of all literary glory, moral philosophy. *Cicero's* great design was to supply this most important *desideratum*. He laboured to encrease the knowledge of his countrymen, by adding to it whatever was wise or noble in the several *Grecian* philosophies: above all, to place before their eyes, in the strongest light, those five great principles of natural religion and morality, on which the happiness of mankind so much depends; the existence of GOD; the reality of a Providence; the immortality of the soul; the future state of rewards and punishments; and the eternal difference of good and evil. *Reipublicæ causâ, philosophiam hanc Romanis hominibus explicandam putavit; magni existimans interesse ad decus & ad laudem civitatis, res tam graves tamque præclaras Latinis etiam literis contineri.* It is needless to observe, how nobly he executed this great design. Happy is it, that the labours which he originally thus designed for the benefit of his country, have extended their good effects so much farther; and been of such great service to so many other ages and nations.

BUT it is very important to observe, of how great utility these studious labours were to *Cicero himself*. We find him from his early youth applying

plying himself diligently to the study of moral philosophy. Soon indeed disdaining, and with indignation rejecting the mean *Epicurean* doctrines : but industriously taking all opportunities (whether while at home, or while on his travels at *Athens* and *Rhodes*) to imbibe the noble principles of other much more true, as well as more worthy and exalted systems of morality : he was equally wise (especially during his travels) in the choice of his companions and acquaintance ; passing his time, as much as possible, with such persons who (in the several countries through which he travelled, or in which he resided) were most eminent for those three most excellent and never to be separated qualifications, learning, genius, and virtue.

O MY dear young friends, suffer me here to pause a little, and to congratulate myself on my great happiness. For what a continual heart-felt happiness must it be to me to recollect the studies and companies in which you have, each of you, so worthily employed all your time at *Westminster*, and at the universities, whether *English* or foreign ? The same also in your travels, in every country through which you have passed, in every city where you have for any time resided. May your studies and company at *Rome* compleat that education, which you have been thus following upon
the

the plan and spirit of *Cicero* himself! And may you, on your return home, still continue to proceed with ardour in the same course of virtue and honour! May you then, still with unremitting industry, prepare yourselves worthily to support and execute your great and important offices in the legislature of *Great Britain*; and may your wisdom and virtue in that high station, produce such blessings to your country, and cover your names and memories with such glory, as may most abundantly and exceedingly repay and reward all these your most noble studies and labours!

BUT let us return to *Tully*.—On his return from his travels, we find him immediately busy in furnishing this his library here at *Tusculum*, with such care in the collection and choice of his books, as shews how sensible he was, that on that article would depend the splendor of his youth and manhood, the comfort and support of his old age, and the dignity and usefulness of his whole life. *In hac bibliothecâ Tusculanâ supero Crassum divitiis, & omnium villas, vicos, & prata contemno.*—Immediately after this, as if these studies had been the immediate preparation for it, we find him in the great work of his consulship, in the glorious light of father and deliverer of his country.

SOME

SOME years afterwards, we find him retired from the tumults at Rome, and busy at his country villa, (sometimes at *Cama*, sometimes here at *Tusculum*;) in drawing up his treatise *de Legibus*; in forming a virtuous and noble plan of government, for the use of his brother in his province; and above all, in compiling his great work *de Republicâ*, of which the *Somnium Scipionis* is the conclusion. Immediately after this (as if *these studies had been the immediate preparation* for that too) we find him (*Cicero* himself) governor of *Cilicia*, protector and benefactor of the happy people committed to his care.

AGAIN in the times, which nearly preceeded and followed the death of *Julius Cæsar*, we find *Cicero* making the most noble use of his studious retirements; particularly that *in this place*: planning here works of greater dignity and utility, even than those for which the world is so indebted to the retirements of a *Bacon* or a *Clarendon*. His time was then employed in writing his history of the life of *Cato*, his treatises *de Consolatione*, *de Amicitia*, *de Senectute*, and *de Gloria*; his books *de Academicis*, and *de Finibus*; his *Hortensius*, or *Cobortationes ad Philosophiam*; his treatises *de Naturâ Deorum*; & *de Fato*; his translation of *Plato's Timæus*, on the Nature and Origin of the Universe; and, to crown all, his *Tusculans*, and his *Offices*. What a

long and splendid catalogue of literary labours? But what must have been *the spirit of that industry*, by which such numerous and excellent works were planned and perfected? *Credibile non est quantum scribam die, quin etiam noctibus*; says Tully, in one of his letters at this time.—It also most highly deserves our attention and admiration, that it was also at this time, and in these retirements, that Tully strongly and intimately connected himself with the most learned Varro; and that with such a design, as rendered this noble union still far more noble: for the design with which these two so great men thus joined and united their literary labours, was the support of the cause of virtue.

O MY dear friends (each of whose minds, I know, are so filled with the two ruling principles of love of study, and love of doing good) let us here pause a little; and, seated as we are at present perhaps in the very library of Cicero, let us indulge ourselves in some meditations worthy of this subject and place.

VENERABLE as is the memory of Cato, yet how much more wise, noble, and good, was the conduct of that great mind, *quæ hîc cogitabat*? In the midst of the most heavy public calamities, Cicero did not then despair, nor abandon that existence in which providence had stationed him.

Driven

Driven from his great sphere of usefulness and beneficence in the *tribunals* and in the *senate*, yet he ceased not to labour to do good to the utmost, by those other powers, which still remained in his hands; his *philosophical* studies. In the cultivation of these he most indefatigably exerted himself in *this* retirement: and the growth of them was so prospered, as to produce to the world infinitely more benefit, than whatever had arose to it from his former *oratorical* and *political* abilities. — Such are the fruits of resignation and of perseverance in doing good. — Such was the reward (a young poet might say in these poetic regions) of the pious *Aeneas* himself: who, on the fall of the kingdom of *Troy*, did not give himself up to despair, nor lay himself on the ruins of *Priam's* palace; but after having bravely done his duty to his country, (*Testor in occasu vestro, &c.*) he patiently resigned himself to the will of providence: (*nec spes opis ulla dabatur; Cessi.*) He retired, with a few companions, to these very plains; and here, in such humility, became the founder of all the grandeur and glory of the immense empire of *Rome*.

BUT it was not only to the public that he was so happy as to be thus useful: for by all these, the last and most noble of his studious labours, he must have also greatly comforted, ennobled, and exalted his own mind; correcting and curing all those

those defects of his character, (too much inclination to vanity and timidity; too much dejection in adversity, and confidence when in prosperity) in each of which he sometimes had made a much lower appearance, than could have been expected from so great a man. These his constitutional infirmities seem indeed to have grown continually on him, while he continued deeply engaged in private and public business; and consequently was not enough attentive to those sentiments, which are the greatest objects of the human understanding. (For the passions have great power in blotting the tinctures of philosophy out of the soul; and of imprinting the sentiments of the vulgar, by custom and conversation, in the minds of those who govern them, unless the politician be very careful so to engage in public affairs, as to interest himself only in the affairs themselves, and not in the passions that are consequent to them.) But these *moral studies* of Cicero, were continually *the medicine of his soul*; by these he learnt to know himself: he repaired all the breaches in his mind; and fortified himself with new and more noble resolutions against future encounters. By these he learnt also to reject and worthily despise those objects, which generally seem most splendid and glorious to the eyes of the vulgar: in a word, he resumed the sentiments of the most heroic courage; and bravely underwent, in his old age, the greatest political labours, for the assistance

assistance of his country, then in her last and most desperate agonies. In that dismal service he shewed no marks of timidity, none of dejection; and at last concluded, and crowned his whole history by a death in her cause, (we shall, in our journey to *Naples*, pass by the very spot, not I hope without proper veneration) a death full of the most noble fortitude, nor obscured by any marks either of ostentation or despair.

In a word, the moral studies of *Cicero*, the more he applied himself to them, the more they always exalted his character. They were to him as a continual renewal of the *Eleusinian* mysteries; the initiation into which was (vid. *de Legibus* ii.) *rerum initia vite*: for from them he was instructed (to use his own words) not only how to live with more real happiness, but also how to die with a better hope*.

S 3

CHAP.

* *Sed etiam cum meliore spe moriendi.*



C H A P. VIII.

NINETEENTH DAY'S CONVERSATION.

ENCHANTED as this company was, in thus daily treading the circle of the antiquities of *Rome*, yet still they forgot not to pay due attention to other great and worthy objects.

FROM the first beginning of their travels, *Crito* had been constantly industrious in examining, in every country, its natural history, its religion, and state of literature: one of the young gentlemen had been a diligent student in several of the polite arts and sciences of each place; another had been continually informing himself in the nature of the several governments, and of the present police, industry, agriculture, manufactures, commerce, funds, forces, &c. of every state. *Crito's* pupil had formed to himself another object of enquiry, which he followed with still more industry and ardour; the study of the different kinds and degrees of public charity, and the different workings of benevolence in each country. With great eagerness he

he was continually enquiring after every wise law of mercy, after every wise charitable institution: esteeming all his labours most superabundantly repaid, if, by these means, he could, at any future time, be able to introduce at home any new method of doing good, or to add any real improvement to any of the laws of mercy, or public works of charity, which are already so many most rich jewels in the crown of *Great Britain*. Among several other articles, he was particularly earnest in acquiring sensible and true memoirs of the descriptions of the various kinds of hospitals; and even disdained not to make the same enquiries relative to the state of the prisons*.

S 4

ONE

* It seems very worthy of observation, that the *greatest temporal* charity, is the charity of a *wise* government: which, by judicious encouragement of industry, whether in agriculture, or in manufactures, or in commerce both by sea and land, is able to comfortably cloathe and feed *millions* of its subjects. In this great charity, there is not perhaps any country, on the face of the universe, superior or equal to *Great Britain*.

As to the inferior (though still *very highly important* and laudable) charities; such as *Infirmaries* for the sick, *Hospitals* for the aged, &c. &c. though our country is very richly adorned with very many of these noble foundations; yet still, in this article, other countries may justly claim great and perhaps equal glory. The magnificence even of *Greenwich Hospital* is rivalled

ONE morning, after he had been thus most happily employed for some hours in transcribing and

rivalled by that of the *Hotel des Invalides* at *Paris*. *Italy*, and (it must be owned) *Rome* in particular, though judged by travellers to be very deficient in the great and primary charity of a wise government, yet very much, and very nobly abounds in these secondary charities. *Holland* also is very eminent for its wise attention to these secondary, as well as to this primary charity.

Might it not be ardently wished, that in both these articles, all nations (notwithstanding their several political and religious differences) would mutually give their attention to learn and imitate each other's excellencies? At least, would not a general account and description of *all the various public charities and institutions of mercy throughout Christendom*, be (if judiciously compiled) a very useful book, and a very strong testimony to the honour of the Christian religion in general, displaying its beneficent genius, and happy operation in the world? The sixteen last verses of the twenty-fifth chapter of *St. Matthew* might be placed as a proper frontispiece to it. For it is to be remembered, that all these noble institutions of mercy were totally unknown in *Europe*, during the ages of the *Grecian* or antient *Roman* dominion, and have all risen on this *their true foundation, Christianity*. Even *Mohammedism* has copied its spirit.

As to our own country, may the wise principle of the antient *Roman* policy be always here remembered: viz. "Never to think itself perfect; but constantly to study and imitate what ever is truly laudable and useful in the neighbouring states, even in those which in general it esteems far inferior to itself." By this principle, and constant practice, antient *Rome* attained

and abridging some papers relative to this last subject, he desired his friends to take an hour's walk with him, and to visit together the place of the two prisons of antient *Rome*.

At the foot of the south-east side of the *Capitoline* hill, is the *Carcer Tullianus* : a church indeed at present covers the spot, but in going down a flight of steps under it, you enter into the

attained all its grandeur, in all sciences and arts, even in its own military art. And by the same means certainly *Great Britain* may advance itself in the *bigbest* kind of human glory, and perfect itself still more and more in the *most noble art and science* of Christian charity and beneficence. Its collection of public charities might thus become the most abundant, the most beautifully variegated, and the most wisely chosen, of any in the universe.

Three great and noble new charities, those of the *Foundling*, *Lying-in*, and *Magdalen Hospitals*, seem in this manner to have been lately imported hither from foreign countries. Another charity, which (if wisely regulated) might perhaps justly be esteemed far more honourable and useful, even than any of these three, *the charity of giving portions to poor young maidens in marriage*, has also at different times made some attempts to rise in this country. It is in a very flourishing state abroad, particularly at *Rome*.

As to the prisons, perhaps there is no part of the *British* police more capable or wanting of improvement : and, in this article also, perhaps some useful hints might be taken from foreign countries.

the antient subterranean apartments of the prison ; and descend from dungeon to dungeon. The lowest dungeon is a round, low, and small vault ; yet remarkable for its being said to be the place in which *Jugurtha* was starved to death, and in which *Cetbegus*, with the other murderers and incendiaries of *Cataline's* band, were all strangled. It seems indeed in its situation, shape, and dimensions, to answer *Sallust's* description, and is probably (the floor, walls, and roof being all of large stones) exactly still in the same state in which it antiently was.

WRETCHED as that set of villains were, and most deserving of their fate, (said *Crito's* pupil) yet how often has this dismal place contained persons of a *most contrary* character ? In the republican times, how many *brave* foreign generals and patriots, who vigorously defended the cause of their country against the *Roman* invasions, have (after undergoing all the bitterness of the triumph) taken their seats on this stone bench, in expectation and desire of speedy death ? In the imperial ages, how many *virtuous Romans* have sighed against the walls of this vault ; and mixed their tears with that cup of their affliction, the spring which rises in the middle of this floor ? A trial of virtue surely much greater than any thing relative either to banishment

or death, which happened in the neighbouring forum to *Metellus* or *Scævola*, *Rutilius* or *Tully*.

PLACES and conditions, at which human weakness would most tremble, and human pride most disdain, how often have they been the scenes of the most amiable and most exalted virtues? not to specify other countries, the two most venerable characters of the *Athenian* history, *Socrates* and *Phocion*, lived in poverty, and died as malefactors in prison :

Carcer illorum omni curiâ sanctor.

BUT look on the inscription on that wall ; it says, that this very vault was the dungeon even of the APOSTLE of the *Gentiles*, and that to this very pillar were fixed *his* chains.

I know not what credit is to be given to this tradition : but however that may be, we all know that the HOLIEST characters have, in some place or other, certainly undergone such treatment.

LET us then not disdain sometimes to consider and commiserate the sufferings even of malefactors in prison ; since persons of such exalted virtue as these, were contented even to live with them there,

BUT, if you please, we may now re-ascend from this vault ; and visit the place of the other antient prison,

prison, (near *Marcellus's* theatre) which was so famous for having been the scene of that so much and so justly admired action, known by the name of the *Roman Charity*. In our way thither we shall converse with pleasure on the history of that action; to the memory of which, the greatest veneration was paid by the antient *Romans*. For (as you all know) by command of the government, that part of the prison was pulled down; and (as if the spot had been, by such an action of filial love, converted from the worst uses, and consecrated to the very best) a temple was erected on it, named, on this account, *TEMPLUM PIETATIS*. *Valer. 15 - c 4 - Plin. l. 10 - c 36*

THE church of *St. Nicola in Carcere* now stands on that same spot; and it is probable, that several of the marble pillars in it, did originally make part of the antient edifice of that temple.

THE company being arrived there about noon, and finding the church at that hour quite solitary, walked about it at their leisure, and desired *Crito* to favour them with some of his sentiments on that excellent action there performed. But *Crito* seemed to decline it, saying, That it was indeed with the greatest pleasure he had accompanied them to this place; but that he was sure that there was no occasion to trouble them with any of his reflections on that subject; the history being so very well known, and the noble virtue of it so very well practised by every

every one of the young part of this company. Give me leave however, he added, to take this opportunity of congratulating my pupil, in this place, on the purchase (which he has lately been so happy to make) of so fine a picture of that same *Roman* charity. With the greatest pleasure his father will certainly receive it: and place it at the head of his gallery of family pictures; as a most pleasing mark of his son's goodness, and as a standing lesson and emblem of that filial love, which ought to subsist in all families from generation to generation.

In this manner ended this morning's conversation. At night the company (meeting to supper at one of their lodgings) were informed by *Crito's* pupil, in what manner he had passed the afternoon and first part of the evening.

It is needless to add, that *Crito* gave his attention with the greatest pleasure to the following account; and by the first post to *England*, made his pupil's parents most happy by a full relation of his this day's employment.

I RETURNED, said the young gentleman, this morning from the place of the antient temple of *Filial Piety*, full of the idea of the most affecting work of charity there performed; and sat down in my room, opposite to the picture of *Guido* on the same

same subject. — Would to God, that the thoughts which then arose in my mind, may always be kept alive in it, and continually encrease in their ardour! — In the afternoon I again sat down before the same picture; and in that situation, made the following extracts; partly from the Epistles of *Seneca*, and his book *de Beneficiis*; partly from a volume of the Discourses of *Socrates*.

“ It is not easy to conceive how any man can
 “ receive from any other, greater benefits, than
 “ those which all children receive from their pa-
 “ rents. By their means they begin their existence,
 “ are admitted as spectators of all the magnificence
 “ of the universe, and made partakers of all the
 “ temporal and eternal bounties of God. Let us
 “ endeavour to proportion our gratitude to such
 “ benefits received! Let us earnestly labour, let us
 “ at least sincerely desire, to be of as much (if
 “ possible) benefit to our parents, as they have
 “ been to us! *Hoc agite, optimi Juvenes! Posita*
 “ *fit inter parentes liberosque honesta contentio, dede-*
 “ *rint majora, an acceperint. Quod certamen tam*
 “ *optabile? Felices, qui vicerint! Felices, qui vincen-*
 “ *tur! Quid eo fortunatius sene, qui omnibus ubique*
 “ *prædicabit, a filio suo se beneficiis victum? Quid*
 “ *eo adolescente præclarius? Nullâ enim vi verborum,*
 “ *nullâ ingenii facultate exprimi potest, quàm lauda-*
 “ *bile, quàmque nunquam à memoriâ hominum exitu-*
 “ *rum,*

“rum, posse hoc dicere; parentibus meis parui:
 “Cessi: imperio eorum obsequentem, submissumque me
 “præbui: ad hoc unum contumax sui, ne beneficiis
 “vincerer.

“Nec desunt tam pulchro certamini duces, qui per
 “vestigia sua ire nos cohortentur & jubeant.—Many
 “sons have defended the old age of their parents
 “from want and injury; many have successfully
 “laboured to crown them with honour, and to
 “bless their latter days with great joy, and greater
 “hope: many have most ardently fronted the
 “greatest dangers to save their parents from harm;
 “many have had even the happiness of returning
 “life for life. Happy sons! But how much more
 “happy must be their parents? *Non enim tantum*
 “*vivere, quantum a filiis suis vitam accipere læta-*
 “*buntur; & longè majorem ex animo prolis, quàm*
 “*ex re ipsâ percipient voluptatem.*”

AFTER having made these extracts, I took a solitary evening walk. I passed by the grand edifice erected to the memory of *Marcellus*; (not without reverencing the character of that noble youth, so greatly and justly beloved by all, and above all by his parents, to whom he had been always so dutiful;) I then sat down for a long half hour in the same temple of *Filial Piety*, which we had visited this morning. I took this opportunity
 also

also of viewing the subterranean dungeons (under the modern altar in that church) which made part of that antient prison.

TWICE (if I am not mistaken) that most pious and charitable action was here performed. Two different *Roman* matrons, at two different times, here so nobly incurred the hazard of their own lives, in order thus to save those of their parents. Actions, which though performed in private life, and in conditions of indigence and obscurity, yet were most highly honoured and rewarded; the prisoners being in each case pardoned and released for the sake of the eminent goodness of their children.

AFTER having fully indulged and satiated my imagination in this so truly venerable place, I took my walk along the silent and solitary *Palatine* valley; and sat down, about sun-set, on the terras behind the capitol, from which there is so full a view of the *Roman Forum*, and *Via Sacra*.

The view of that place strongly revived my memory of all the filial pieties of the *Scipios* and the *Metelli*, as well as of several other *Roman* heroes, whose names are thus most gloriously immortalized. Nor could I help with pleasure reflecting,

flecting, that even in the age of the greatest national degeneracy, and public wickedness and misery, this noble virtue still continued to manifest itself on this spot. For indeed earth must be changed to hell itself, before filial piety can be obliterated.

EVEN in those dismal times, (to which in the course of *Crito's* lectures we are now arrived) when under the cursed triumvirate of *Mark Anthony*, *Rome* was so filled with the most dreadful scenes of vice and cruelty, yet filial virtue and love, still shewed themselves here in several actions of the greatest beneficence and fortitude. In the midst of that general fury and terror, a young man, (nearly related to *Cicero*) who was imagined formerly not to have behaved quite well to his parents, then most nobly aton'd for all his former faults. Most carefully did he hide his father from the pursuit and search of the assassins; and most patiently did he himself endure the most cruel torments, even to death, rather than discover him. The father, indeed, in haste to deliver his son (now how beloved!) from such torture,

—— *Nec se celare tenebris*

Amplius, aut tantum potuit preferre dolorem.

Me! me! adsum qui feci: in me convertite ferrum!

—— *Nil*

——— *Nihil iste, nec ausus,*

Nec potuit : ———

Tum super exanimem sese projecit amicum

Confossus, placidâque ibi demum morte quievit.

Fortunati ambo !

AT the same time *Oppius*, one of the most rich and aged of the *Roman* senate, received the fatal news, that his name too was inserted in those bloody proscriptions. Worn down, as he was, with age and sickness, he intended quietly to submit to his fate, and patiently to expect his murderers : but he could not resist the tender zeal and tears of his son.

THE most affecting scene of *Anchises* and *Aeneas* was then revived ; and after much sollicitation of the son, and blessings and tears of the father, young *Oppius* appeared with the precious burden of his parent on his shoulders, staggering along these streets, and across the *Roman Forum*.

——— *Nec me labor iste gravabit :*

Quo res cunque cadent, unum et commune periculum :

Una salus ambobus erit.

O my dear young friends ! (you, who lately so admired even with tears an action of this same kind

kind so nobly represented in one of *Raphael's* great works in the *Vatican*) O my dear *Crito*! (you who have from my infancy been so tender and really *spiritual* a father to me, and have so diligently inculcated to me in all our studies, and on all occasions, my duty to my real and dear, most dear parents) tell me, what ought to have been my sentiments, seated as I then was by the very walls and antient pillars of the *Roman Tabularia*, on which those bloody proscriptions were fixed; and imagining that I saw the most excellent young *Oppius* thus traversing the very *Forum* before me.

No wonder, that the *Romans*, who so deservedly prided themselves in the belief of their descent from that antient pious hero of *Troy*, should be moved with so striking a resemblance;

Atque animum patriæ strinxit pietatis imago.

No wonder, that they should so ardently have protected, and so loudly, as well as tenderly, applauded this action, that the bloody *Triumvir* durst not venture to attempt any thing further against the life of such a father, and such a son. Thus was young *Oppius* suffered, even at mid-day, safely to traverse the midst of the city, and (after having passed the gates) then, sometimes helping the old man to walk a little, sometimes with tears of joy taking him again on his shoulders,

VOL. I.

T

quietly

quietly at length to reach *Ostia*, and there embark with him for *Sicily* *.

No wonder, that the *Sicilians* also should kindly receive him in their island: they also probably recollected, how much their country too was celebrated for an action of the *same* most moving and most laudable kind. You remember, my dear young friends, that noble story how told in *Seneca* and in *Pliny*, as well as in the paintings of the *Farnese* gallery: — *Duo Siculi juvenes, cum Aetna majore vi peragitata in urbes, in agros, in magnam insulae partem effudisset incendium, vexerunt parentes suos: patrem scilicet alter, alter matrem. Discessisse creditum est ignes; et utrimque flammâ recedente, limitem adaperit, per quem transcurrerent juvenes dignissimi.*

THE

* During the reign of *Augustus*, this same young *Oppius*, being returned to *Rome*, and living here in private and very narrow circumstances, on the day appointed for the election of *Ediles*, the people (by a sudden resolution) would have him for their *Edile*; notwithstanding all the objection which he could make to it. As he could by no means then afford to bear the expence of that office, all the companies of the different trades in this vast city (probably by *Augustus*'s voluntary and glad consent) engaged to provide and furnish *gratis* all the shews of the theatre, &c. for him. On the last day of the shews, and on the conclusion of the last play, the whole stage was on a sudden covered with heaps of money, which the numerous spectators in that vast theatre (with the loudest most heart-felt acclamations) showered down on it on all sides, for the benefit of this their dear *Oppius*. Vid. *Appian*.

THE same kind of heavenly protection, (and on what occasion may we more expect favour or reward from the Father of all ?) which was said by the noblest of poets to have been vouchsafed to the noblest of heroes, when entering on the same great and holy work :

*Descendo ; ac, ducente Deo, flammam inter et hostes
Expeditur : dant tela locum, flammæque recedunt.*

END of Book the THIRD.

T 2 APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

The LIVES and CHARACTERS of COSMO and LORENZO DE MEDICIS*.

THE memories of these two most illustrious *Florentines* being so deservedly respectable by all persons, who are so happy as to be educated in the love of literature and science, it cannot be improper to insert here the following short account of their lives and characters; especially as they will be thus to the public some kind of specimen of the collection (mentioned in the preface) now making of the great characters of modern *Europe*.

It is very remarkable, that *Greece* should, in all ages, have had the peculiar privilege of being the source of all arts and learning to *Italy*, and through *Italy* to all *Europe*.

T 3

THIS

* Vid. the Introduction, page vii.

THIS was the case, not only in those *primitive* ages, when the *Grecian* colonies first planted themselves among the nations of *Italy*, who at that time were as savage as any *American* nation; (*Gensque virum silvis & duro robore nata*, &c.) it was the case also, when the *Roman* empire rose to its height of glory and power; (for how much then was *Rome* and all its provinces adorned and humanized by the *Grecian* philosophy, and other arts and sciences?) it was again the third time the case, in more modern ages; when *Greece*, worn down with age and weakness, was indeed herself just expiring under the *Turkish* arms: yet even then, in almost her last moments, she sent forth her dying spirit, to revive in the western world those sciences and arts, which (it is hoped) will never again perish; but, by the invention of printing, graving, &c. endure as long as the world itself.

It is equally remarkable, that the sentiments and doctrines of *Socrates*, (so much revered by the greatest Christian, as well as Pagan philosophers; and indeed by the generality of mankind, during the learned ages of *Greece*, *Rome*, and modern *Europe*) should also be the peculiar instrument, and first occasion of clearing and dispelling that gothic ignorance and darkness, which had lasted no less than ten centuries, and of giving again

again to *Europe* a view of all the sciences in all their glory.

It was in the year 1439, when *Italy*, and all these western regions of *Europe*, were still in great measure full of blindness and barbarism, that a *Grecian*, named *Gemistus*, arrived at *Florence*. He was a person deeply instructed in the antient learning of his country, particularly in that branch of it, which was by far its principal glory; the philosophy of *Socrates* and *Plato*. The business which at that time called this learned man to *Florence*, (then one of the most flourishing cities of the world) was to attend the general council, which was then held there for uniting the *Greek* and *Latin* churches. *Gemistus*, besides attending to this his great and principal business, often discoursed with the *Italians* on the pleasing subject of arts and sciences: particularly on that *Grecian* philosophy, which was antiently so well received in *Italy*; and which indeed, in all ages, had been always so highly esteemed by the most eminent fathers of the church; (who willingly had united the study of it with that of their religion, as what was in their opinion in some manner not a little ornament and support to the moral doctrines of Christianity.) On this subject *Gemistus* frequently conversed with the principal persons at *Florence*, particularly with *Cosmo de Medicis*.

COSMO de Medicis was at that time at the head of the *Florentine* republic. After having borne adversity well in his youth, he was become one of the greatest favourites of fortune; (opulence continually flowing in upon him by commerce from all the regions of *Europe*) he appeared at the same time to be one of those characters, which best deserve to be intrusted with her gifts: for his immense riches were attended and crowned with an equally immense charitable liberality. Besides many great and noble buildings erected and endowed by his munificence for the service of religion, or for the public utility and splendor of his country; besides many hospitals and other charitable edifices built both at *Florence* and *Jerusalem*; it was found by his books, after his death, that he had, during his life, expended in acts of charity no less a sum than one hundred thousand ducats; a sum then far superior to the value of two hundred thousand pounds sterling in this age. Yet often in private conversation did he (as it were) complain to his friends, that notwithstanding all his endeavours to the contrary, he continually found, by his frequent examination of his accounts, that what he daily employed in charity was far inferior to what he was daily receiving from the favours of Providence. For indeed both himself, and all persons connected with him, had riches continually showering upon them.

NOR

NOR was *Cosmo* less remarkable for his patriotic wisdom and goodness in political affairs. This is sufficiently manifest from his presiding in such a turbulent state as that of *Florence*, then a republic, for above thirty years: enjoying at the same time so much quiet himself, and preserving in so great a degree the liberty as well as the tranquillity and happiness of his country. But most glorious was he in protecting his country from foreign injuries, at the same time that he preserved it in *perpetual peace*. *Quod maximum videri debet, in gravissimis civitatis periculis Cosmus potentissimos hostium exercitus inermis & togatus prudentiâ & auctoritate repressit, & gravissima bella extinxit.*

No wonder that for all these great benefits, he should be honoured by the name of father of his country: a title still the more honourable to him, as it was *after his death* (which happened at the age of eighty-eight) that it was conferred on him; the day of his burial being honoured by such a decree; which, while his body was placing in the grave, was voted by the whole state of *Florence* in reverence to his memory.

IT is not in the least surprizing that such a man as *Cosmus* should with joy listen to the doctrines of *Socrates*; and should be so fired by his sentiments, as immediately to conceive the great idea of benefiting

fitting mankind as much as possible, by the revival of so blessed a science. *Cosmus* (says his historian) à *Gemisto Platonis doctrinâ sic afflatus est protinus, sic animatus, ut inde protinus altâ mente Academiam quandam concefferit, hanc opportuno primum tempore pariturus.*

He immediately gave orders for the education of many *Florentine* youths (among whom was *Ficinus*, afterwards so famous on this account) in such studies, as might not only make themselves happy with so exalted a kind of knowledge, but prepare them also as fit instruments for diffusing the same most noble and useful learning through their own country and other regions. Afterwards he settled *Ficinus* in quiet, on a decent country estate near his own villa, where he could freely pursue his noble studies during his more mature years. *Cosmo* also immediately sent to *Greece*, and invited many learned men from thence to *Florence*; whom he afterwards employed for many years in translating into *Italian* (for the *Greek* language was then scarce known in *Europe*) the works of *Plato*, and of several others of the principal philosophers of antient *Greece*. He became indeed the greatest patron, not only for the revival of literature, but for advancing also all other arts and sciences: (which had indeed for some considerable time before, under the care of modern *Greek* architects and

and painters, been gradually reviving in Italy) Poiché nelle Socratiche charte, lumi tuli ravvisare si possono, che valevole sono à formare l'animo altrui capace di contemplare la bellezza della virtù, à qualunque aria, ed in qualunque maniera ella possa mai risplendere.

WHILE he was thus nobly employed, happened that great event of *Constantinople* being swallowed up by the *Turks*. In that scene of destruction many *Grecians* were nobly-minded enough, (like *Josephus* in the ruin of *Jerusalem*) to take more care of saving those writings which were the great glory of their country, (now at last totally ruined) than of preserving the relicks of their own fortunes.

WITH these most valuable and venerable relicks, (*reliquiis patriâ ex ardente receptis*, far more venerable than the *Penates* with which *Aeneas* fled from the neighbouring coast of *Troy*) they retired, *veluti novi Aeneadæ*, to the hospitable asylums of *Hesperia*. And from that time, and from that event, (by the consent of all historians) rose a new empire; an empire, not of power and tyrannical dominion, (like that of *Rome*) but a still more glorious empire of arts and sciences; in a word, all the literary grandeur of *Europe*, which has since so much blessed and humanized all this so large and noble part of the universe,

BUT

BUT it ought always to be remembered, that all this was, under Providence, entirely owing to the great *Cosmo de Medicis*. He it was that received these illustrious exiles with the ready goodness and royal hospitality of an old *Latinus* or *Evander*. He it was that most generously supplied all their wants ; and with all the honours of *Italy* comforted them in their perpetual banishment and grief for the total destruction of their country. He at the same time most carefully preserved those inestimable treasures of learning, which they had thus brought from *Constantinople* ; and which indeed without his care would probably have been lost to posterity ; for among all the kings and princes of *Europe*, whether ecclesiastical or secular, there was then perhaps to be found no such patron of true noble literature, as this great citizen and merchant of *Florence*, *Cosmo padre della patria*.

MAY we fix in our minds a true veneration for such merit ; and remember, that it was but a *small* honour to this great man that he was founder of a family, from which the most powerful crowned heads at present in *Europe* derive their origin ; he had *much greater* glory. He was a father to the poor, and to the afflicted stranger. He was a father to his country ; and one of the most noble benefactors of all *Europe*.

LORENZO

LORENZO the MAGNIFICENT.

LORENZO DE MEDICIS, the grand-son of *Cosmo*, and father of *Leo* the Xth, was himself equal to his grand-father, far superior to his son, and on the whole the most noble ornament of all his illustrious family; and with great reason honoured with the title (by which he is distinguished in history) of LORENZO the MAGNIFICENT.

FOR he not only inherited the great and beneficent spirit of *Cosmo*, but industriously imitated his virtuous actions. Like him, he rendered himself one of the greatest benefactors of his country. Like him, he became one of the greatest protectors of science. Under his roof, at *Florence*, (as the *Italian* historians say in their flowery stile) wisdom and all the muses fixed their abode, accompanied with all the sciences, with all the arts, and all the graces. It is indeed certain, that the chief artists of that age, (whether in painting, sculpture, or architecture) were under his roof and protection, continually studying the beautiful models of antiquity; it is also certain, that under the same roof (as in an university far superior to any other at that time) the persons of the most eminent learning and genius of different nations in *Europe* were continually employed in preparing themselves

selves for communicating to their own countries those lights of philosophy and other literature, which then seemed to be reviving in *Tuscany*, with something of their antient splendor. To give a proper idea of this noble, and at the same time most studious and industrious assembly, it will be sufficient to name two persons of it only, the two most extraordinary geniuses which the world ever produced; *Picus* prince of *Mirandola*, and the great *Michael Angelo Buonaroti*. Add to these *Linacer* the *Englishman*, tutor to prince *Arthur*.

Nor was *Lorenzo* less hospitable in receiving the venerable exiles of *Greece*; particularly the celebrated *Demetrius Calcondilas*; and *John Lascares*, a person not less famous for his learned abilities, than from his descent from the antient imperial family of *Constantinople*. *Lorenzo* did still greater things; he opened a treaty (which was received with great respect) with *Bajazet* Grand Seignior of the *Turkish* empire; the noble object of this treaty was to save from perdition the fragments and relics of learning, which were scattered over the east. Twice was *Lorenzo* at the expence of sending ships under the conduct of *Lascares* from *Tuscany* to *Constantinople* for no other purpose than to return with a lading of what antient manuscripts could be found there: a work, at that time of the greatest advantage to the world: and which therefore

he

he wisely had so much at heart, as to be desirous of expending every part of his great treasures in perpetually making larger and larger collections of that kind. Of these (besides what may have been unhappily lost by the course of time, and by other accidents) there are still in the great *Medicean* library at *Florence*, eight thousand manuscripts, mostly *Greek*, collected by him and his grand-father*.

IF

* We ought also here to take notice, that if *Europe*, by *Cosmo* and *Lorenzo's* means, did then thus receive from the East such treasures of learning, the obligation was most nobly returned, by the great and generous *Ferdinand*, one of the most illustrious descendants of this same family. The following inscription, dedicated at *Florence* to his memory, ought indeed generally to be known; especially in that country, whose *Boyle*, and other great natives, have trod in the same steps.

FERDINANDO MEDICI, S. R. E. Cardinali.

Magno Etruriæ Duci

Inclito Studiorum Patrono,

Splendidissimo, Beneficentissimo,

Magnanimo;

Qui Evangelicæ legis, Philosophiæ, Medicinæ, Mathematicæ,

Multiplicesque nobilium Scientiarum libros, Arabico

Idiomate, liberalibus impensis, typis excudit:

Atque in Libyam, Ægyptum, Syriamque, Persidem, Indiamque,

Extremasque orbis regiones,

Ad propagandam Christianam fidem,

Et morum disciplinam,

Faustis omnium plaufibus,

Emitte primus auctor fuit.

Immortalis Gloria, Felicitasque in terris:

Atque æterna præmia in Cælis.

Romæ Anno Xti 1588.

Sixto Quinto Pontifice Maximo.

IF *Lorenzo* was so desirous of recovering the treasures of the antient learned languages of the world, he was not forgetful of preserving and perfecting that of his own country. He was indeed the first projector of the great design for that purpose, (*La Crusca*) which afterwards gradually grew up under the protection of the same *Medicean* family to such an height.

BUT the most remarkable part of the occupations of this great man, was his kind of life at his villa of *Careggi* near *Florence*; which he had planned in imitation of the *Platonic* groves of *Academy* near *Athens*.

IN this villa, (which commands a view of that beautiful country watered by the *Arno*, and terminated by the mountains near the antient *Grecian* city of *Pisa*) he often passed many hours in conversation with *Ficinus*, and with others the most wise and learned men of the age; men, whose learning was not debased and disgraced by pedantry, but honoured and supported by real great abilities of mind. Nor was the subject of their conversations less noble: The sentiments and doctrines of *Socrates*.

IT is particularly remarkable in history, that it was from these conversations on such exalted subjects,

jects, that many excellent and wonderful effects were continually produced. *Lorenzo* himself, by this means, was continually encreasing in wisdom, and more and more confirmed in his constant desire of promoting all the good arts, and all the different kinds of science, which are most proper for the cultivation of the human mind. He was also continually acquiring new lights for the good administration of his own republic; and for the maintenance of the public peace of all *Italy*, of which indeed he was, during his whole life, the glorious author and support. For, by his great *industry*, and great fortitude, he constantly preserved the peace and happiness not only of *Florence*, but of all the *Italian* states; and the balance of power and security of liberty to them all.

How beautifully does *Guiccardin* open his history with his lamentations on the death of this great man? His death happened in the year 1492, and was, as that author represents, one of the greatest calamities which could befall the republic of *Florence*. For it was by the support of his great authority and prudence, and of his noble genius, so fitted for every thing that was excellent or honourable, that that republic was then so flourishing, in the greatest abundance of riches, and of all the other benefits and ornaments of a long peace. But most calamitous was his death to *Italy* in general. His last hour was indeed the beginning of all her miseries, as his life had been the

cause of all her happiness. For the infinite importance of this one great and good man was immediately felt by his loss. *Italy* was immediately laid open to confusion and war, invasions from all sides, desolation, oppression. How different a scene from that of the same country when under the protection of his blessed government? Never indeed, for the space of ten centuries past, had *Italy* enjoyed so happy a state, as when under the auspices of *Lorenzo* the Magnificent. It was then indeed the *flower* of all the *European* nations: its country cultivated in every part, full of noble and opulent cities, full of an infinite abundance of inhabitants; and among them, numbers of men of the greatest characters, whether for their wisdom in supporting their several parts of the good government of their own countries, or for their industry and genius in every noble art and science. Happy also was *Italy* then in its universal liberty; for then no part of it was subject to any foreign dominion: but most happy was it in that universal peace and tranquility, which at that time diffused itself over all its regions, breathing forth originally its blessed influence from the groves and philosophical retirements of *Lorenzo*, as it did antiently over the same country from those of *Numa*.

* * *

It may perhaps be very proper to take notice here, that the descendants (in *Italy*) of *Cosmo* and *Lorenzo*,

renzo, made it constantly a principal point of their conduct to imitate these their great and most worthy ancestors in *two* at least of their virtues, viz. The love of peace; (it is now the *third* century since *Tuscany* has felt the cruelties and horrors of war) and the protection of all arts and sciences. The *Medicean* family is indeed in both these lights far superior to any royal or imperial family in the history of the world. And what a strong lesson may this be made to shew, that any great virtue, when once entered into a family, ought to be preserved, by the descendants of it, with the greatest spirit? for surely it is by far the most important, as well as the most noble, part of their patrimony. Most glorious indeed would the *Medicean* family have appeared in the history of mankind, if they had imitated *all* the virtues of their illustrious ancestors: if, besides blessing their country with tranquility, they had had also the exalted ambition of preserving its liberty; (for how much more exalted a title would, that of *Cosmo, fathers of their countries*, have been to each of them, than that of *duke* and *grand-duke*?) and above all, if they had constantly remembered these most important truths, viz. That the glory of all arts is far inferior to that of virtue: that nothing is meaner than the character of a learned but wicked man: and that the great purpose and ultimate end of all study, and of all science, is to deliver the mind from the mean and abject slavery of avarice, ambition, or vicious pleasures.

VITTOR PISANI*.

VITTOR PISANI was born of a family of the highest most antient nobility in the *Venetian* state; yet was he one of the most modest, the most humble of men, as well as the most brave, and most beneficent. How different from the present character of the *Venetian* noblemen? But *Pisani* had not placed his happiness in gaming or debauchery; or in their attendants, ignorance, pride, and want of honour; his happiness lay in the general respect that was born to him for his industry and fortitude; and in the universal love which he had acquired by his humility and goodness. Never was any man indeed more adored by his countrymen. For, while at home, he was (like the *Athenian* admiral *Cimon*) continually indefatigable in making men happy; he was the general benefactor of the poor and miserable, and protector of the injured: and, while fighting the battles of his country abroad, never was his heart hardened either by the scenes of war, (in which the *Venetians* were generally cruel) or by the boisterous element on which he acted. For he was high admiral of the *Venetian* fleets, (an office in that state equal almost to the dictatorship in the *Roman*) when *Venice* was at that time the greatest maritime power in the world. This high station had no power on his mind to make him proud or tyrannical. He

was

* Vide Book i. page 42. of this Volume.

was in particular the constant benefactor, and father of all the mariners under his care; and, on this account, most highly deserving the imitation of all those who are to support the true honour of their country on the Ocean.

IN many engagements did he hazard his life with great fortitude; many glorious victories did he obtain for his country. At last, in the battle of *Pola*, he was obliged to yield to fortune, (for fortune was now chastising the pride of *Venice*) as well as to the great superiority of the enemy. For this misfortune he was, by the power and malice of a few great persons in the senate, degraded from his high office, and cast into prison. But it is impossible that any reverse of fortune ever can happen, that any injury, ingratitude, or indignity can ever be offered to a great and good man, but what must turn at last to the higher exaltation of his glory.

THE republic of *Genoa* at that time held a very distinguished rank among the sovereign states of *Europe*: she was long looked upon as rival to *Venice*. Their mutual pride and opposition of interests, engaged these two haughty and commercial states in very tedious and destructive wars. About the year 1380, *Genoa* was by far the superior. The *Genoese* fleet had entered into the *Adriatic*, and subdued it; it even drew near to *Venice* itself. What a dismal spectacle then offered itself to the *Venetians*?

The chief canals leading to their capital, and the principal insular cities which lie near it, were already in possession of the enemy; and several *Venetian* vessels burning within sight of the piazza of *St. Mark*. The whole nation was indeed in the utmost consternation; a consternation greatly encreased by the terrible answer the enemy made to their ambassadors, when sent to beg for peace and mercy on any terms.—“ We are not come hither to shew any kind of mercy to you: we are come to destroy you utterly; not sparing any one of your lives, nor leaving any remains of the name of *Venice*. Return to your city, and in a few days expect us there in the heart of it.”—That evening all *Venice* was in the greatest confusion. Every one lamenting themselves, lamenting their country. For there was no one but who thought that the liberty, and even the existence, as well as the dominion of *Venice* was at an end; and that all the seats of its magnificence and power, all its arsenals and palaces, were now to be overturned again into the sea. It was even publicly deliberated, whether an attempt should not be made to escape from their city with some remains of its treasures, to desert *Venice* for ever, and flying from *Europe*, to settle in some of their eastern colonies*, as the *Dutch* are said to have thought of doing in their great distress in the year 1672. Others, of nobler minds, stood at the gates

* In the island of *Candia*, or *Crete*.

gates of the senate-house, crying out for their *Pisani*. The senate resolve to release him, and send messengers to the prison, informing him that he was at liberty, and to be again invested with the supreme command of his country. How then did the great *Pisani* behave? Far superior to every change of fortune, he in answer humbly desires to continue the rest of that night in his confinement: early the next morning he is introduced to the doge in full senate.

THE speech of the doge, and of *Pisani* on this occasion, are thus related by the celebrated *Venetian* historian *Sabellicus*.

THE doge having exhorted *Pisani*, not now to think of his late imprisonment and disgrace, nor to be doubting in his mind, whether or no he had been justly or unjustly treated by the state; but to consider only, to fix his eyes only on the present great distress of his country; to endeavour to defend and to save her; and so to act, that all his countrymen, who all so revered him for his most exalted virtues, might also be all now obliged to him, both for their private and public preservation;

PISANI answered with the most inconceivable humility, as follows:

“ *Most Serene Prince!*

“ THERE is nothing of hard treatment which my country may ever think proper to impose

“ on me, but what at all times I ought to bear
“ with that good mind, which is the duty of a
“ subject. What has been thus inflicted on me
“ by the public, I convince myself was done out
“ of regard to the public. As to private ill-will
“ and injury, so far am I from resenting them, or
“ from having the least desire of revenging myself
“ on any person, that I staid in my prison last night
“ on purpose that I might receive the blessed
“ Sacrament, before I would receive my liberty,
“ before I would dare to receive this staff of su-
“ preme command, and indeed of almost despotic
“ authority (both of life and death) which is now
“ entrusted into my hands. Let those therefore,
“ who are sensible that they have injured me,
“ know this, that I have entirely and perpetually
“ forgot it; that they have no friend now more
“ benevolent to them, than what I am myself;
“ that it will be my business, in my present great
“ office, to prove the truth of this, by never doing
“ them any harm in any manner myself, nor ever
“ suffering any other of their countrymen to hurt
“ or affront them in the least; and still further
“ by never omitting any opportunity, to the ut-
“ most of my power, of doing all kind of good
“ to them. As to my duty to my country, I most
“ humbly thank your highness for thus exhorting
“ me to it; and I will endeavour *most willingly* to
“ obey your exhortations. May heaven grant,
“ that I, by my industry, may be in some manner
“ or

“ or other, an instrument of some service ! As in my intentions, I am sure, I ought always to preserve the greatest duty and affection to her.”

He then retired from the senate, leaving every member of it in tears. At the gates, he was received by the applauses of all his countrymen ; which applauses also he received with the greatest modesty. When many crouded round him, offering (and contending which should do it most earnestly) their lives and fortunes to assist him in this great undertaking, and to follow him in this his great example of patriotism, he received their offers with the greatest kindness and thanks, but referred them to the government ; who, he said, were willing to hear, and ready thankfully to accept, whatever might be proposed for the advantage of the nation : to others, who called him the *deliverer of his country*, he answered by reminding them, that it was to God and not to *man* that they were to apply for deliverance from their danger and distress.

PISANI then went on board the small and shattered remains of the *Venetian* fleet : with the assistance of the doge, (*Andrea Cornaro*) with whom he was associated in the government, he regulated every thing on a new plan for the defence of his country.

From that day the public courage rose, and with it the public success. *Pisani* carried on every thing

thing with the greatest fortitude and prudence; and, tho' very ill of a fever, with the greatest industry.

His glory was in a few weeks compleated. For in a few weeks he died of that illness; but not before he had absolutely defeated and dissipated all the force and designs of the enemy, and entirely saved his country from the greatest and most dreadful ruin which ever hung over it.

ANDREW DORIA*.

WHEN the power of the *German* emperors began to decline, several republics arose in *Italy*, as *Venice*, *Florence*, *Pisa*, *Sienna*, &c. among these one of the most principal was *Genoa*: its power and fame were not confined to *Italy* only, but were spread over all *Europe*, and even over many *Asiatic* regions.

THESE *Italian* republics began also in their turn to decline; for they engaged in very destructive wars one with another, (like the antient republics of *Greece*) and were also, in like manner, torn to pieces by the most furious internal factions; thus preparing themselves as easy victims to the invasions of foreign powers.

IN these times of tumult and confusion, *Andrew Doria* was born of one of the most noble families in

* Vid. Book ii. page 140,

in *Genoa*. In process of time he became one of the most famous commanders of his age, both by sea and land: the glory of his naval achievements in particular filled the coasts both of *Europe* and of *Afric*: but that which constitutes by far the principal glory of his character, was his exalted and disinterested love of his country.

GENOA and all its dominions being at that time under the oppression of a foreign power, *Doria* nobly resolved to hazard his life and fortune for their delivery. From distant regions he sailed with his fleet towards the *Genoese* coasts, and in one night had the peculiar happiness to expel all the foreign garrisons from the city and from its several forts; and that without the effusion of one drop of blood. The next morning he summoned the citizens into the great square, and there, like *Flaminius*, declared his nation FREE.

WHEN the citizens, with a spirit of excessive gratitude, offered to him the authority of perpetual *Doge*, he nobly declined it: he declined, both for himself, and for all his family, all stations of power or wealth in that republic; tho', at the same time, he declared his hopes, that he should continue to his last hour, a firm friend and faithful servant to his country. The only reward for these his fortunate labours in delivering his country, the only recompence of which he was desirous, was that his country.

countrymen would (if it was only in gratitude to him) suppress all civil dissensions among themselves, abolish all family feuds and factions, assist him in settling a free and equal government, and thus contribute to bless their country with the greatest concord as well as liberty.

How different was this behaviour from the black histories of the other *Italians* of those ages? In comparison of those infernal characters of ambition and avarice, how truly exalted did *Doria* then appear? He appeared (says his historian) as one of the glorious inhabitants of the celestial regions, descending with joy to pour blessings on the earth, and, in the language of heaven, to proclaim peace and good-will among men.

By his continued unwearied labours both in war and peace, particularly by his interest and negotiations with the several great princes of *Europe*, he preserved, even to an extreme old age, his country in perfect freedom; continually suppressing all factions which arose in it, and settling it on a firm and durable basis of a free and equal commonwealth. When, on occasion of the famous conspiracy of *Fiesco*, he was advised to build a citadel in *Genoa* for his security, he bravely answered, that his life was not of consequence enough to warrant the doing any thing for its preservation, which might endanger the liberty of his country.

He

He
favo
in t
gift
in t
the
Rom

Tim

T
the
senat
cils,
patri
ther
the p
they
patri

It
senat
repub
of th
Vo

• T
custom
nobility
in the
very gr
palace
since th
Pamphi
though
cessor,

He continued to reside in his country-house and favourite orange-garden; (which is still to be seen in the suburbs of *Genoa*, and which was the only gift which he had ever received from the public) in this, as well as in many other instances, copying the disinterested examples of the antient heroes of *Rome* and *Greece*, particularly of the most truly great *Timoleon*, the deliverer of *Syracuse* and of *Sicily*.

THE statue of *Doria* is to this day placed on the steps of the senate-house at *Genoa*; that the senators, as often as they attend the public councils, may be constantly reminded of this great patriot, to whose labours they owe that they meet there in liberty and peace, to consult concerning the public safety; and that in all their deliberations, they may be guided by so noble an example of patriotic virtue.

It is also said, that once in every year* the whole senate and magistracy, citizens and soldiery of that republic, walk in a solemn procession to the house of the prince of *Doria* in the suburbs; offering to

VOL. I.

X

him

* This grand ceremony is at present shrunk merely to the custom of an annual and general visit paid on that day by all the nobility and gentry of *Genoa* to the prince of *Doria* at his palace in the suburbs of *St. Pietro d'Arena*. This company however is very grand, and the entertainment provided for them at that palace suitably magnificent. For the *Doria* family (especially since their late succession to a very great share of the immense *Pamphili* estate at *Rome*) is become one of the richest in *Europe*; though, according to the self-denying example of their great ancestor, they never have accepted of any places of profit at *Genoa*.

him (as to the descendant and representative of their great deliverer) the keys of the gates of their city: and all with one voice joining to express their gratitude to his memory, who thus healed all their antient miserable divisions and factious distractions, and who thus has blessed *Genoa* and all its citizens, now for several ages, with (what, at least in comparison of the miserable state of the *Italian* cities in former ages, appears) the greatest internal quiet and concord; as well as with the most perfect freedom from the tyranny of any foreign power.

. Sir MATTHEW HALE.*

The following Character is extracted verbatim from Dr. BURNET's Works.

NO part of history is more instructive or delighting, than the lives of great and worthy men; (this makes *Plutarch's* lives to be more generally read, than any of *all* the books, which the antient *Greeks* or *Romans* wrote) nor can there perhaps be found a greater character, at least in his times, than that of this renowned lord chief justice of *England*. There are indeed few instances of more knowledge, and greater virtues, meeting in one person.

HE was descended rather from a good, than a noble family; and yet what was wanting in the insigni-

* Vid. Book iii. page 225. of this Volume.

insignificant titles of high birth and noble blood, was more than made up in the true worth of his ancestors. Great care was taken of his education: he was an extraordinary proficient at school: preserving always his purity, and a great probity of mind: he afterwards, for some few years, fell unhappily into some of the vanities and idleness of youth; but, on being admitted into *Lincoln's-Inn*, about the twentieth year of his age, he grew deeply sensible how much time he had lost, and how many idle and vain things had over-run and almost corrupted his mind. He resolved to redeem the time he had lost, and followed his studies with a diligence, that could scarce be believed, if the signal effects of it did not gain it credit. He became entirely changed; forsook all vain company: and divided himself between the duties of religion, and the studies of his profession. During many years he studied sixteen hours each day*; and in the former duty he was so regular, that for six and thirty years time he never once failed going to church on the *Lord's-day*.

He took a strict account of his time, (as may be seen by the scheme which he privately drew for his diary) and no wonder a man who set such rules to himself, became quickly very eminent.

X 2

Noy,

* Vid. page 239. in *Cicero's Life* in this Volume.

Noy, the attorney-general, being then one of the greatest men of the profession, took early notice of him, and directed him in his studies. The great and learned Mr. *Selden* did the same. It was *this* acquaintance that first set Mr. *Hale* on a more enlarged pursuit of learning, which he had before confined to his own profession; but becoming as great a master in it, as ever any was, very soon; he who could never let any of his time go away unprofitably, found leisure to attain to as great a variety of knowledge, in as comprehensive a manner, as most men have done in any age*.

HE set himself much to the study of the *Roman* law; without the study of which, he thought no man could ever understand law as a science. — He applied himself to other sciences, arithmetic and algebra in their hardest questions, mathematics, natural philosophy, physick, anatomy, chirurgery. To these he added great searches into antient history, chronology, and the *Greek* philosophy. Above all, he seemed to have made the study of divinity the chief of all others, and to which he not only directed every thing else, but also arrived at that pitch in it, that those who have read what he has written on this subject, will think it must have had most of his time and thoughts.

It

* Vide page 240.

It may seem almost incredible that one man, in no great compass of years, should have acquired such a variety of knowledge; and that, in sciences that require much leisure and application. But as his parts were quick, and his apprehensions lively, his memory great, and his judgment strong, so also his industry was almost indefatigable. His philosophical moderation also at his table, and his admirable equality in the temper of his mind, disposed him for what ever studies he thought fit to turn himself to.

WHEN he began to make a figure in the world, the unhappy civil wars broke out, during which (in imitation of *Atticus*, the intimate friend of *Cicero*) he constantly favoured and relieved those that were lowest. He engaged himself in no faction. He never in his whole life *once in any conversation* spoke ill of any person. Not but that he was employed in his practice by all the royal party: he was assigned council to the earl of *Stafford*, and archbishop *Laud*; and afterwards to the king himself, for whom he offered to plead *with all the courage* with which so glorious a cause ought to have inspired him. He was also council to the duke of *Hamilton*, the earl of *Holland*, and the lord *Capel*; pleading for them with the greatest force of argument, and not daunted with any threatenings. Nor was he satisfied to have discharged himself with so much learning, fidelity, and

and courage, in the just defence of the royal party *in the way of his profession*; he also relieved them often in their necessities, in another way, no less prudent, than it was charitable.

Cromwell seeing him possess of so much practice, knowledge, and courage, resolved to raise him to the bench; affecting thus the reputation of honouring and trusting men of eminent virtues, of what persuasion soever they might be in public matters: of this Mr. *Hale* (contrary to his private interest) accepted, being of opinion that it was absolutely necessary to have justice and property kept up at all times. In this high office of a judge, on which he entered in the year 1653, he constantly observed those restrictions which he at first prescribed to himself, and on several occasions shewed both his justice and courage, notwithstanding all the anger of the protector. He was at the same time elected member of parliament; which duty he attended, on design to obstruct the wicked and mad projects then on foot; and indeed his strength of reasoning in several important debates not only satisfied all sober persons, but stopt even the mouths of the frantic people themselves *.

In the parliament that recalled the king, he bore a share in the happy period then put to the confusions that threatened the utter ruin of the

the nation. His great prudence and excellent temper led him to think that the sooner an act of indemnity was passed, and the fuller it was of graces and favours, it would sooner settle the nation, and quiet the minds of the people; and therefore he applied himself with particular care to the framing and carrying it on*.

Soon after, he was made lord chief baron; lord chancellor *Clarendon* delivering to him his commission, and in a public speech telling him, among other things, that if the king could have found an honest and fitter man for that employment, he would not have advanced him to it; and that his majesty had therefore preferred him, notwithstanding his modesty, because he knew no one that deserved it so well.

He continued eleven years in that place, managing the court and all proceedings in it with singular justice, generosity, diligence, and exactness; particularly in cases of great difficulty, such as the regulation of private properties in the city of *London* after the dreadful fire.

BUT it will not seem strange that a judge behaved himself as he did, who at the entry into his employment, set such eighteen excellent rules to himself,

X 4

* Vide page 230.

himself, as may be seen in his life wrote by Dr. Burnet, (to which the reader is earnestly referred) copied from the original under Sir *Matthew Hale's* own hand,

BUT he was now to go on after his pattern, (*Atticus*, the friend of *Cicero*) still to favour and relieve them that were lowest. So besides great *charities* to the nonconformists, who were then as he thought too hardly used, he took great care to cover them all he could from the severities some designed against them. He took care of those from whom he differed most; as appeared signally in the important case of the quakers. He lamented the differences that were raised in the church; he often wished that there might be some law to make all bitterness in disputes about religion punishable. He declared himself always on the side of the church of *England*; and together with his excellent friend bishop *Wilkins*, laboured earnestly to obtain from the government a limited indulgence towards the dissenters. His other ecclesiastical friends were Dr. *Barrow*, Dr. *Tillotson*, Dr. *Stillingsfleet*, archbishop *Usher*, and Mr. *Baxter*,

HE looked with great sorrow on the impiety and atheism of the age; and so he set himself to oppose it, not only by the shining example of his own

own life, but by engaging in a cause which could hardly fall into better hands; and which certainly was most worthy of him. But as to his writings on this subject, particularly his two volumes of religious meditations, and his great work against atheism, we must again beg leave to refer the reader to Dr. *Burnet* *.

IN the year 1671 he was promoted to be lord chief justice of *England*. He that holds that high office being the chief trustee and assertor of the liberties of his country; all people applauded this promotion of him; who as he understood those liberties so well, so also had all the justice and courage, that so sacred a trust required. And in this did he spend the rest of his public life and employment.

ABOUT five years after this advancement his health began greatly to fail. He had been a long time before greatly desirous of a religious retirement before death; (his meditations on this head we strongly recommend to the reader—*Burnet* page 97) but for the good of the public he continued in that employment, however irksome, in which God had placed him. But now, that same Providence having by this distemper disengaged him from the obligation of holding a place, which he

* Vide page 242, of this Volume.

was no longer able to discharge, he resolved to resign it. The king continued his pension for life; and Sir *Matthew* devoted that pension, as long as he should receive it, totally for charitable purposes.

HE saw with great joy his deliverance approaching; for, besides his being weary of this world, and his longing for the blessedness of another state, his pains encreased on him, that no patience, inferior to his, could have borne them without a great uneasiness of mind; yet he expressed to the last such *submission* to the will of God, and so equal a temper under them, that it was visible then what *mighty effects* his philosophy and christianity had on him, in supporting him under such an heavy load.

NOT long before his death, he made himself to be carried in his chair to church, and there received the sacrament on his knees with great devotion; which it may be supposed was the greater, because he apprehended it was to be his last viaticum.

HE continued to the last moment in these devotions. When his voice was so sunk that he could not be heard, his attendants perceived, by the

the constant lifting up of his hands and eyes, that he was still aspiring towards heaven.

He died *on that day* for which he had for many years a particular devotion; *on Christmas-day* he breathed out his righteous and pious soul. His end was peace; nor seemed he to be in any pangs in his last moments.

* * *

It has appeared in the account of his various learning, how great his capacities were, and how much they were improved by constant study: he rose always early in the morning: he loved to walk much abroad, not only for his health, but he thought it opened his mind, and enlarged his thoughts to have the creation of God before his eyes.

When he set himself to any study, he used to cast his design in a scheme, which he did with a great exactness of method. As was particularly the case in his great and noble scheme of reducing into method the body of the *English* law, and (notwithstanding its indigestedness, and the multiplicity of the cases in it) of forming the whole into a rational science. Happy, if his modesty would have suffered him to complete it; as it could hardly ever be done by a man who knew it better,

better, or who would have laboured in it with more judgment and industry.

He had a great vivacity in his fancy, as may appear by his inclination to poetry, and the lively illustrations and many tender strains in his contemplations. But at the bar or on the bench he was (for the sake of justice *) always for pleading in few words, and home to the point.

He greatly admired that custom among the *Romans* †, which was, that the juriconsults were the men of the highest quality, who were bred to be capable of the chief employments in the state, and became the great masters of their law, and whose resolutions were of that authority, that they made one *classis* of those *materials*, out of which *Trebonian* compiled the digests under *Justinian*. He thought it might become the greatness of a prince, to encourage such a sort of men and of studies; in which none, in the age he lived in, was equal to the great *Selden*; who was truly in our *English* law, what the old *Roman* juriconsults were in theirs.

His opinion being once known, men did readily acquiesce in it; and it was very rarely seen, that any
man

* Vide page 184, Character of *Rutilius*.

† Vide page 191, and 192, Character of *Scævola*.

man attempted to bring their cause about again; and he that did so, did it upon great disadvantages, and was always looked upon as a very contentious person; so that what *Cicero* said of *Brutus*, did very often happen to him: *etiam quos contra statuit, equos placatosque dimisit.*

IF any great persons were interested in any cause before him, no man ever shewed greater courage and integrity in laying aside all respect of persons.

WHEN the proceedings of chancery might prove inconvenient to the subject, he never spared to observe and reprove them; and from his observations and discourses, the chancery has taken occasion to establish many of those rules, by which it governs itself at this day.

HE was eminent in every station, and into what court soever he was called, he quickly made it appear, that he deserved the chief seat there.

NOTHING was more admirable in him than his patience. He would bear with the meanest, and gave every man his full scope.

HIS whole life was nothing else but a continual course of labour and industry, and when he could borrow

any time from the public service, it was wholly employed either in philosophical or divine meditations, which also was a public service*.

No one can wonder at the exemplary piety and innocence of his life, wherein as he was careful to avoid every idle word, so it is manifest he never spent an idle day.

THEY who come far short of this great man will be apt enough to think this is a panegyric, which indeed is an history; and but a little part of that history, which was with great truth to be related of him.

HE was the greatest lawyer of his age, and might have had what practice he pleased; but though he did most conscientiously affect the labours of his profession, yet at the same time he despised the gain of it.

HE took more pains to avoid the honours and preferments of the gown, than others do to compass them; and where some men who had not half his knowledge have been puffed up with an high conceit of themselves, his modesty was beyond all example.

He

* Vide page 247, Life of Tully in this Volume.

He governed himself by that law of the gospel, of doing to others what he would have others do to him. He used constantly to worship God *in his family*; performing that duty always himself, if there was no clergyman present: but as to his private exercise in devotion, he took that extraordinary care to keep what he did secret, that this part of his character must be defective, except it be acknowledged that his humility in covering it commends him much more than the highest expressions would have done.

GREAT as the strength of his virtue was, yet he himself was always very distrustful of it: and no wonder that such an humble temper, joined to (its natural consequences) watchfulness, and dependance on the aids of the Spirit of God, should produce such excellent effects in him.

He had a soul enlarged and raised above that mean appetite of loving money*, *which is generally the root of all evil*. He was very moderate in all the profits which he made by his practice when at the bar; where he pleaded with the same sincerity that he used in the other parts of his life, and used to say, it was as great a dishonour as a man was capable of, that for a little money he was to be hired to say or do otherwise than he thought.

All

* Vide page 224, and 228, of this Volume.

All this he ascribed to the unmeasurable desire of heaping up wealth, which corrupted the souls of some that seemed otherwise to be born and made for great things.

WHILE a practitioner, differences were often referred to him, which he settled; but would take no reward for his pains, (though offered by both parties together after the agreement was made) saying, Can I spend my time better than to make people friends? Must I have no time allowed me to do good in?

HE laid aside the tenth penny of all he got for the poor, which he dispensed with the greatest secrecy, and took great care to be well informed of proper objects for his charities: when judge, he gave many of the considerable perquisites of his place to the jails, to discharge poor prisoners, who never knew from whose hands their relief came.

WHILE at his house in the country, he usually invited his poor neighbours to dine with him, and made them sit at the table with himself. He not only relieved the poor of his own parish, but sent supplies to the neighbouring parishes, as there was occasion for it. And he treated them all with the tenderness and familiarity that became one,
who

• Let
articles;
great and

who considered they were of the same nature with himself, and were reduced to no other necessities, but such as he himself might be brought to.

WHEN he lived in the country, if any common beggars came to him, as he was in his walks, he would ask such as were capable of working, why they went about so idly: if they answered it was because they could find no work, he often sent them into some fields to gather the stones in it into one heap, and then would pay them liberally for their pains: this being done, he used to send his carts, and caused them to be carried to such places of the highways as needed mending *. But when he was in town he dealt his charities very liberally, even among the street beggars; and when some told him that he thereby encouraged idleness, and that most of these were notorious cheats; he used to answer, that he believed most of them were such, but among them there were some that were great objects of charity, and prest with grievous necessities; and that he had rather give his alms to *twenty* who might be perhaps rogues, than that *one* of the *other sort* should perish for want of that small relief which he gave them.

VOL. I.

Y

HE

* Let not the young reader despise these *seemingly* minute articles; but remember how careful in this same respect the great and humble Epaminondas was.

HE loved building much, which he affected chiefly because it employed many poor people ; but one thing was observed in all his buildings, that though he had excellent judgment in architecture, yet the changes he made in his houses were always from magnificence to usefulness ; for in every thing he constantly avoided whatever looked like pomp or vanity.

HE was a gentle landlord to all his tenants, and was ever ready upon any reasonable complaints to make abatements ; for he was merciful as well as righteous.

IN sum, his estate did shew how little he minded the raising a great fortune ; for from 100 *l.* per annum, he raised it not quite to 900 *l.* and of this a very considerable part came in by his share of Mr. *Selden's* estate ; yet this, considering his great practice while a counsellor, and his constant frugal and modest way of living, was but a small fortune.

MR. *Selden's* library was valued at some thousands of pounds, and was believed to be one of the curiousest collections in *Europe*. This library Sir *Matthew*, with the other executors, most generously parted with, giving it to the *Bodley* library at *Oxford*, (where it is still preserved with all respect)
for

for the honour of *Selden's* memory, and the benefit of the public; though if it had not been for these motives, the parting with so many excellent books, would have been as uneasy to our judge, as any thing of that nature could be; for he valued books and manuscripts above all things in the world *. He himself had made a great and rare collection of manuscripts belonging to the law of *England*, which he was forty years in collecting, and at a very great expence; and these all he left as a testimony of his honour and respect to the society of *Lincoln's-Inn*, where he had the greatest part of his education.

By all these instances it does appear how much he was raised above the world, or the love of it. But having thus mastered things without him, his next study was to overcome his own inclinations.

He was, as he said himself, naturally passionate; but he so governed himself, that he was never seen, even by those who lived long about him, disordered with anger, (though he met with some difficult trials) but frequently returned good for evil.

He was a very gentle and tender master to his servants, never turning any one away, when there

Y 2

were

* Vide page 244 of this Volume.

were any hopes left of reclaiming them from bad courses : when he reproved any, it was with the greatest sweetness and gravity ; but when incorrigible, he turned them away ; for he said, he that by his place ought to punish disorders in other people, must *by no means* suffer them in his own house.

THE judge was of a most tender and compassionate nature, which did eminently appear in his trying criminals ; for though he used never to be mollified to any tenderness, which hindered justice, yet he behaved himself with that regard to the prisoners, which became both the gravity of a judge, and the pity that was due to men whose lives lay at stake. He examined the witnesses in the softest manner, and summed up all the evidence so equally, that the criminals themselves never complained of him. When it came to him to give sentence of death (which was the part of his office the most disagreeable to him) his speeches to the prisoners, directing them to prepare for their last hour, were so weighty, so free of all affectation, and so serious and devout, that many persons were edified by them, and used to say, they heard very few such sermons.

HIS mercifulness extended even to his beasts ; when his horses grew old, he sold them not, but
turned

turned them loose on his grounds*. His shepherd having a dog blind with age, the judge hearing of it, sent for the poor animal, and fed him in his house till he died. And he was scarce ever seen more angry, than with one of his servants, for neglecting a bird that he kept, so that it died for want of food.

He was a great encourager of all young persons that he saw follow their books diligently, to whom he used to give directions concerning the method of their study, with an humanity and sweetness, that wrought much on all that came near him: and in a smiling pleasant way he would admonish them, if he saw any thing amiss in them.

His discourses in private conversation were generally fixed on some good and useful subject: he neither said nor did any thing with affectation, but used a simplicity that was both natural to himself, and very easy to others. In his furniture, and way of life, he was plain; his temper equal, rather chearful than merry; his deportment full of tranquillity, even in some very grievous misfortunes, particularly the very unhappy death of one of his sons; for though he had a temper so tender that
fad

* Vid. Character of *Plutarch* in the second Volume.

sad things were apt enough to make deep impressions on him, yet the regard he had to the wisdom and Providence of God, did to admiration maintain the tranquillity of his mind. For he had a generous and noble idea of God in his mind; and this he found did above all considerations preserve his quiet.

He left a very numerous family; and in after times it is not to be doubted, but it will be reckoned no small honour to derive from him. As he was honoured while he lived, so he was much lamented when he died.

His humble épitaph, as placed by his own order on his *plain* tomb.

Hic inhumatur corpus,

MATTHÆI HALE, *Militis:*

ROBERTI HALE *and* IOANNÆ *Uxoris ejus,*

Filii unici:

Nati in hac parochiâ de Alderly,

1^{mo} die Nov. 1609.

Denati verò ibidem 25 Dec. 1676.

Ætatis suæ 67.

THE

THE just inscription for his memory, though his modesty forbad any such to be put on his tomb-stone.

He was one of the Greatest PATTERNS his age afforded; whether in his private deportment, as a Christian; or in his public employments either at the bar or on the bench.*

END of the FIRST VOLUME.

* It is hoped that the readers will excuse the extraordinary length of this character; especially as every one of the above lines is transcribed from Dr. Burnet, and is also very likely to contribute considerably to the good design of this work.